History of the Sikhs

Vol-I. 1846

By: W. L. M'Gregor

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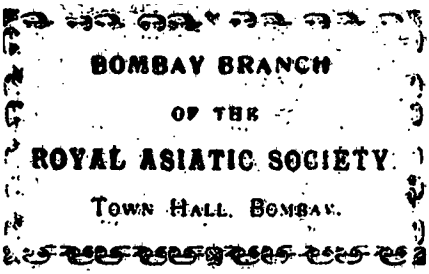

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Dedicated by the Author

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD GOUGH, G.C.B.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,

AND

THE OFFICERS

OF

THE ARMY OF THE SUTLEJ,

AS A SMALL TOKEN OF ESTEEM FOR,

AND ADMIRATION OF, THEIR UNWEARIED AND INVINCIBLE COURAGE

DISPLAYED ON THE FIELDS OF

MOODKEE, FEEROZSHUHUR, ALLEEWAL,

AND

SOBRAON.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Madden Macdonald & Macgregor 18th. London.

MAHARAJAH RUNJEET SINGH.

London, J. Madden, 8 Leadenhall Street.

THE

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS;

CONTAINING

THE LIVES OF THE GOOROOS; THE HISTORY OF THE INDEPENDENT SIRDARS, OR MISSULS,

AND

THE LIFE OF THE GREAT FOUNDER OF THE SIKH MONARCHY, MAHARAJAH RUNJEET SINGH;

30

By W. L. M'GREGOR, M.D.

SURGEON 1ST E. B. FUSILIERS, LATE 1ST E. L. INFANTRY.

VOLUME I.

14 1930

LONDON:
JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

1846.

954.5
Mgr / His
141930

LONDON:
BREWSTER AND WEST, PRINTERS,
HAND COURT, DOWGATE.

PREFACE.

THE author of the following pages cannot suffer his work to go forth without offering at least an explanation of, if not an apology for, the manner in which the second volume has been prepared.

It will be at once apparent to the reader that all the information contained in the two volumes has been prepared either in the country described or in its immediate vicinity; the major part of the contents of the second volume being actually collected in the very midst of the battle of one of the most memorable campaigns on record. It was the purpose of the author to have given to all his materials the condensed form peculiar to political history; but the rapidity with which startling events succeeded each other,—the great importance of printing the entire work, while yet the affairs of the Punjab possessed a high degree

of interest in England,—and the heavy professional claims upon the author's time,—determined him to send forth the work in its present comparatively crude form. The part of the second volume which speculates upon possible occurrences, which either did or did not afterwards transpire, and to which reference is subsequently made, must be accepted rather as a journal of operations than as a comprehensive digest of the entire campaign.

The author is under deep obligations to several of the military authorities, and to many brother-officers for the aid he has received in the prosecution of his arduous task; and he begs they will, individually and collectively, accept his cordial acknowledgements. His object has been to record every fact connected with the History of the Sikhs, from the birth of Nanuk Shah, to the capture of Kote Kangra by the British; to present a complete history of the life of Runjeet Singh, the former despot of the Punjab; and to render justice to all those enlightened men and gallant spirits, whose skill and intrepidity combined to repel the insolent invasion of a rebellious army and to consolidate the British power in the north-west of India.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Introductory chapter.

BEFORE attempting the history of a nation or people, it is necessary that we should become, in some measure, acquainted with their country.

The Geography of the Punjab.

The term *Punjab* is significant of five rivers. These are, the Sutlej, Beas, Ravee, Chenab, and Jelum.

But though five rivers are enumerated, there is in fact a sixth, which eventually receives the collected waters of the other five. Still, as the Sutlej and Beas unite and form thereby but one river, named the Gharra, the term Punjab is correct, as applied to the country below the conflux of these two rivers.

The Sutlej is the boundary of the Punjab on the

east, but the Sikhs have for a long time occupied the left bank of the river, under the protection of the British. In former times the Sikhs on that bank were named the *Malwa Sikhs*, in allusion to their rich country resembling in its fertility the province of that name in Western India. Those inhabiting the country between the Sutlej and Beas, were named the *Doab Sikhs;* while the country stretching from the Beas to the Ravee was inhabited by *Manja Sikhs,* so named from the jungly tract which reaches from the vicinity of the former river to Mooltan. From the neighbourhood of the Doab between the Indus and Jelum, and also of that between the latter river and the Chenab, to Affghanistan, the inhabitants are chiefly Mussulmans, and even at the present day several of them are found in the former district.

All the rivers of the Punjab rise in the Himalayan chain of mountains, whence the Ganges and Jumnah derive their sources, as well as numerous smaller and tributary streams. The sources of the Ganges and Jumnah, though placed among perpetual snow, are comparatively near to the western and southern limits of the mountain; not so with those of the Indus and Sutlej, which exist in regions far in the interior of the Himalayas, and on the boundaries of countries to which the European only has access at great risk and danger.

The Sutlej. The Sutlej is the Hesadrus of the ancients, and receives various names according to the tract of country it passes through; such as the Sarangas,

Zadarus, Zaradrus, Shatooder, Sutlooge, Setlej, Sutledge, &c.

The Sutlej rises on the southern side of the lofty Kailas, and empties its waters into the lake Munsurawur; from thence its course is parallel to that of the Indus, or Sin-ka-bab (lion's mouth,) which is supposed to rise from the northern side of the same mountain. The great Kialas is considered a paradise by the Hindoos, and they believe it to be inhabited by their Deities, particularly Shiva. Its height is estimated by some geographers at 28,000 feet above the level of the sea; while others compute it at 30,000; it is therefore the loftiest mountain at present known in the world: seen even from an elevation of 17,000 feet, the Kialas is an object of admiration. It often gets the name of the "peaked mountain."

The Sutlej is a rapid torrent in the mountains, and is confined within a narrow channel through which it foams with great velocity, rendering it "unfordable where the depth is only a few feet, unless for the strong and hardy yak."* At Rampore in Busahir, it is crossed on inflated skins during the cold season, and these are employed as far down as Belaspore. In the rains the river is crossed by means of a joola, or bridge constructed of ropes. The Sutlej becomes navigable on reaching the plains at Roopur, and from that place pursues its course to Hurreekee, near which the

* Vide Thornton's Gazetteer.

Beas joins it, and their union obtains the name of Gharra, forming one of the rivers of the Punjnud, and receives the Ravee, Chenab, and Jelum, before it joins the Indus. At the present day the Sutlej flows near the fort of Phillour, which is built on its right bank, and was meant as a place of defence in case of an invasion.

In former times the river ran near the present city of Loodianah; its bed is well defined, and a small nullah, which now marks its old course, is lost in the sands about Ghauspore, while the high ground near Bhoondree points out its left bank.

The Sutlej frequently changes its bed between Loodianah and Feerozpore; and the city of Tehara, which now stands at some distance from the left bank, is said to have once occupied a place on the right, while the river at the present day flows over a former city of the same name.

The water of the Sutlej is very cold, indicating at once its source and its long course. It abounds in fish; and its banks, in many places, are covered with thick jungle, the abode of the tiger and other wild animals.

The Beas.

The next river is the Beas, the Hyphasis of the Greeks. It is known also by the following names, viz.: — Beascha, Beypasha, Bihasis or Bipasis, Beand, and Beah.

This river rises on the southern ridge of the Ritanka Pass in Lahoul; from this it passes Mundee and Nadan, enters the plain of the Punjab, and unites with the Sutlej. A tributary of the Beas,

named Kungar, forms, at its junction, a wide expanse of water, or jheel, where the Emperor Akhbar erected a house with apartments underground, for the purpose of enjoying the sport of shooting in the neighbouring jungle, which abounded with tigers, leopards, and wild hogs. The ferry for crossing the Beas is at Govindwal, once a place of some importance in the history of the Gooroos, the religious teachers of the Sikhs, some of whom resided there, and lie buried at the place. It is on the high road to Lahore, and about five miles beyond the present city of Kapoorthulla. Govindwal.

The country of the Punjab lying between the Sutlej and Beas, is named *Bist* or Bist Jalindhur. The word *Bist* is composed of four letters, two of which are taken from the Beas, and two from the Sutlej. Jalindhur is the name of a rich district in this Doab, and the city of that name is large and populous, with a long street, well paved with bricks; the whole town is surrounded by a wall, the gates of which are shut during the night to prevent any sudden surprize. The precaution is highly necessary in a country like the Punjab, the different portions of which frequently changed masters; and it was no uncommon occurrence to find one of its towns in a state of siege, while the surrounding country was in perfect peace.*

* We once had occasion to pass, during the night, through Fugwarra, a town in the Bist Jalindhur, and were detained a long time at the gate, which was shut and guarded, as the place was actually besieged, and a fight had taken place during the day.

The mountainous tracts of the Bist comprehend the states of Kooloo, Mundee, Soochet, all tributaries of Lahore, but ready at any time to throw off their allegiance whenever an opportunity occurs. This Doab is the shortest and narrowest in the Punjab, but at the same time the richest; it abounds in water-courses, and is plentifully wooded; in fertility it is compared to Cashmere; the mangoe produced here is of a superior quality. It is said there were formerly no fewer than thirty-six large and small canals or water-courses in the district for the purpose of irrigation. One of these near the Sutlej was named the White Canal; while another, in the vicinity of the Beas, was called the Black. The ground near both rivers is swampy; and from Kapoorthulla to Govindwal, the country in the rains is a complete marsh. The same is true regarding the tract between the Sutlej and Loodianah, at the same season.

The Ravee. The third river is the Ravee or Hydraotes. It is also known by the following names, viz:—Tyrawuthe, Aaris, Rhuasis, and Ravee. It is often called the Lahore river from the city of that name built on its left bank. This river rises in Kooloo from the mountain Buddurkal (Bungall), the source is named the tank of Mahadeo. From thence it flows below Chumbee, where the Ravee is crossed by a bridge, and here three roads branch off; namely, one to Cashmere, another to China, and the third to Khatah. From this the Ravee descends to Bisoulee; and near the city of Shahpoor

is the village of Madupoor on the bank of the river, where a royal canal was commenced which carried water to Lahore. After this the Ravee reaches the latter city, passing in succession Puthaw, Kulanoor, and Pursuroor.

In former years the Ravee washed the sides of the city of Lahore; and the Emperor Aurungzebe built a bund, or bulwark, some miles in length, to prevent the river from encroaching on the city. No remains of this defence exist at the present day, but the river probably retains a channel thus imposed on it by art; being at the distance of two or three miles from Lahore, at least the main branch of it, for there are often three divisions of the stream. In the rains, however, there is a complete swamp from Lahore as far as the main or western branch, which flows close to Shahdurra, or the Mausoleum of the Emperor Jehangeer (Aurungzebe). About sixteen years ago, a portion of the wall surrounding this tomb was carried away by the river.

Below Lahore the river passes Fureedabad, then Barsander, a place now in ruins. The course of the Ravee is very tortuous, until it reaches Uchoomba, from whence the river runs in nearly a straight line, and with a very slow current. On the banks of the Ravee there is abundance of peepul and bur trees, whose roots are supplied with water from the river itself. The imlee (*Tamarindus indica*) also abounds. The Ravee is called at this place *Seedunee* or the straight river,

in order to distinguish it from the other portions of its course, which are serpentine. At the distance of twelve miles below Uchoomba, on the bank
Ram Chuotra. of the Ravee, there is a place called *Ram Chuotra*, which the Hindoos venerate. It is believed by them that Ram and Luchman, the two sons of Jussrut, came to Uchoomba and began to bathe in the river; from this they went down the Ravee to Ram Chuotra, leaving their clothes on the bank; and the river became forthwith straight, in order that they might keep a watch on their garments! The place is, therefore, one of worship with the Hindoos, who believe implicitly in the miracle. The Ravee eventually joins the Chenab.

The Doab lying between the Ravee and Beas is named *Baree*, and like Bist is formed by two letters taken from one of the rivers forming it, viz.:—Beas, and three from the Ravee; in shape it resembles a boat, being narrow at both extremities. Irrigation is common in this Doab; but in many portions of it, particularly near the Beas, the rain supplies a sufficiency of water, without rendering recourse to this process necessary.

The existence of the two largest cities of the Punjab in this Doab, gives it an importance not possessed by any of the others; it also excites an interest as regards the Sikhs and their early settlement, in having the tract named Manja within its
Ram Teeruth. limits. In this Doab lies Ram Teeruth, not far from Umritsir, which according to early records

was the first abode of Seeta, when she was banished to the jungle by her husband; the place was then like most other parts of the Punjab, overrun with jungle. It is a very picturesque spot, rendered so by a large and beautiful tank, shaded by vast numbers of lofty trees, whose long branches bend over the water, and in some places nearly touch those upon the opposite side. Both in this Doab and the Bist, the country is low near the rivers, but gradually rises towards the middle, and again descends to the next river.

The Chenab.

The fourth river of the Punjab is the Chenab. It is the Ascescines of the Ancients, and is also called Chenab, Tchendarbarjar, Chunderbahka, Jandabala, and Shantroo, in the different portions of its course among the mountains.

The source of the Chenab is very remote. According to native report, the river Chunder rises on the confines of China. Another river flowing from Thibet, and called Bahka, or Bhaka, joins it at Kishtawar, and their united streams obtain the name of Chunder-bhaka. In the hills its course is very rapid, and in no part is it fordable. Near the mountain of Tirkatta, which is in the state of Jummoo, it escapes from the hill, and at or near the city of Akanoor, divides into eighteen branches, which again unite near the village of Belaulpore. The Chenab then washes the boundary of Sodra, and reaches Wuzeerabad, crossing the king's highway. From thence, having traversed the Huzara

country, it runs below the city of Chunceote, and thence through a small hill. It eventually joins the Jelum.

The Doab formed between the Ravee and Chenab is named Rechna; the letters forming the word being six, the two first taken from the Ravee, and the four last from the Chenab, being the larger river of the two. This Doab is often written *Retchna*, and various opinions have been offered as to the origin of the word, some supposing the term a Greek one. The name, like that of the other Doabs, is simply derived from those of the rivers of which it is composed.

The Jelum. The fifth and last river of the Punjab is the Jelum. It is the Hydaspes of the Ancients, and like the others has various names, such as Chelum, Jalum, Zaloomy, Jumad, and Behut.

The Natives describe it as rising from the tank *Warnak*, which is well defended by solid masonry. The tank is small, being in circumference twenty feet. It was built by Jehangeer in the year of the Hijera 1029, or A.D. 1605. The structure is said to be a beautiful one.

From this tank the Jelum flows to Islamahad, near which it receives the water of a spring, or fountain, named *Mittun*, and their union forms the river, which is said to be here navigable. After this it receives various tributary streams, and reaches Seereenuggur, the capital of Cashmere; it flows through the city, where it is crossed by

seven bridges. Having passed Baramoola, the Jelum reaches Moozufferabad. Passing from thence the river washes the boundary of Puglee, and then receives the Kishungunge. It then passes Chundmukh and Danglee, and skirts the territory of Kukhur, in the province of Ameerpoor. After this, the Jelum reaches the plains, and there is a ferry for crossing it called Rajghat, which is at the village of Jelum, though occasionally the ford shifts, and its passage is attended with danger from the great depth of water above and below it.

The Jelum eventually joins the Chenab, and forms one of the rivers of the Punjnud.

The Doab formed by the Chenab and Jelum is named Chunth, or Jenhut, which is derived from one of the names of the Jelum, *Behut*, and the Chenab, or rather from the three names.

The zemindars, or landholders, of this Doab, are for the most part Mussulmans. There are numerous water-courses throughout for the purpose of irrigation.

The Indus.

The great river formed by the union of all the five rivers of the Punjab, with the Sin-ka-bab, is called the *Indus*. It is known by the former name at its origin, the belief being among the Hindoos, that it issues from a "lion's mouth."

The Indus forms the western boundary of the Punjab, as also of Hindostan; and the Natives of India have always had a horror of crossing it. In search of conquest, however, both the Sikhs

and Hindoos have repeatedly overcome this prejudice; and the latter have penetrated at far as Cabul, while the former have as yet only spread their conquests to Peshawur.

The course of the Indus is a very long one, and no European traveller has yet visited its source. Through the exertions of Moorcroft, Trebeck, Gerard, Vigne, and others, its mountainous course is pretty well known, while little remains to be learned regarding the Indus in the plains. We owe much valuable information to Burnes, who navigated the Indus from the sea as far as the Punjnud; and that at a time when great difficulties opposed his progress, for the Ameers of Scinde were then anything but friendly to the British, and placed every obstacle in his way. They justly dreaded him as the forerunner of invasion and conquest, as he undoubtedly was, both in Scinde and Affghanistan!

It is believed that the Indus rises on the northern side of the great Kailas. In the native accounts of its origin, the mountain is called Kilmak, but the ideas entertained by them on this head are extremely vague.

The Indus receives in the plains five large rivers united into one stream, named in consequence the Punjnud.

The Shy-yok. One of the most remarkable of its mountain tributaries is the Shy-yok, which at its union with the Indus, here named the Sin-ka-bab, is 150 yards broad, while the latter is not more than eighty.

Below this junction, the river gets the name of Ab-i-sir (Indus Proper.)

The reader who wishes for particular information regarding the Indus, will do well to consult the works of the travellers already mentioned, or the late one published by Thornton, where he will find a concise account gleaned from the resources of practical authors.

As a contrast to the *autopsy* of the Indus given in Thornton's Gazetteer, we may here introduce the meagre and somewhat confused account of the Natives.

The river is often named by them Ab-i-sin or Abasheen; the former being a word synonymous with Sin-ka-bab; the meaning of the one being the "lion's river," and that of the other the "lion's mouth." The source of the Indus, according to Native accounts, is in the mountain of Kilmak; from thence it washes the boundaries of Kashgar and reaches Thibet. It then flows on the border of Kaffristan and Cashmere, passing Puglee and Dhundour in the country of the Eusufzys, and from thence reaches Attokbunarus. About a mile above the latter, it receives the Cabul river. The ghaut, or ferry, at Attok is below the fort of the same name, here the river is narrow, and the water exceedingly cold. Near the right bank, and in the water, there is a large black rock, against which boats are often dashed and wrecked. This rock is named *Julayeea,* from a remark of the great Akhbar,

who in crossing the Indus at this place, lost the boat containing his jewels; it was thrown against the rock. On witnessing the accident, the Emperor smiled and exclaimed, " That rock is as rapacious as Julayeea."* Others derive the name from that of a fukeer, who was buried near the place on the bank of the river.

After passing Attok, the Indus flows through the country of the Khuttuk, a tribe of Affghans; emerging from this, it obtains the name of *Neelab*, or the blue river; it then passes the city of Mukhur and reaches Kalabagh, runs near the village of Peeplee, and from thence through Reghistan, or the sandy country.

The Indus then passes in succession, Dera Ishmael Khan and Dera Ghazee Khan; and at Dhak, the distance between it and the Jelum is only about four or five miles. At a short distance above Mittun, the Indus unites with the Punjnud; and from thence to the sea, their united streams form the great river Indus.

The Doab lying between the Jelum and Indus is named Sind Sagur. The country is often overflowed to a great extent in the periodical rains, resembling an inland sea, and hence the word Sagur, signifying the sea or ocean, may have been applied to denote this tract.

The capital of the Punjab is Lahore, and from this town to Delhi there extends a series of pillars,

* A noted freebooter or robber.

intended in former times for measuring the distance; the interval between each being named a *kos*, and equal to two English miles.* These pillars, or minars, exist on the India side of the Sutlej at the present day, and may be seen in many places between Loodianah and Kurnaul. They are visible from a great distance, and thus enable the traveller to take the shortest road without the risk of losing his way. Not only was the great road marked by kos-minars, but the same care was taken of the travellers themselves, by the planting of trees and erection of serais at certain distances for their accommodation; and at each serai there was a large tank for the supply of water. All these serais are now more or less dilapidated, but one can form an idea of their size and splendour from the remains of those seen at Dawra, Kunna, and Rajpoora, between Loodianah and Umballah.

During the Mussulman sway in the Punjab, and even long before it, Lahore was a very large city. Its palaces and mosques at the present day, point out the munificence of the Moslem, though Sikh innovation has done much to alter, and in some cases, destroy the beauty of these edifices; even the tombs of the illustrious dead have not escaped the ravages of the fanatic Sikh. Witness that of Jehangeer on the right bank of the Ravee near Lahore. This handsome edifice, like all other

* The kos varies at the present day, and is divided into two kinds; namely, the kucha and pucka, the former being little more than equal to one mile.

Mussulman buildings of the kind, had a lofty dome in the centre, which was thrown down in the time of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, in order to form the whole terrace into a parade ground! The bigoted Sikhs have otherwise partially mutilated the building, and what they left undone towards its destruction the river itself is likely to accomplish in the course of time; already has the wall surrounding the tomb been carried away in several places by the force of the current during the periodical rains.

The palace of Lahore.

The palace of Lahore has been partially altered in the interior to suit the taste of the Sikhs; and one room, which was rich in mosaic, formed of precious stones, has been completely divested of the latter, which are said to have cost nine lakhs of rupees, or £90,000 sterling. From this circumstance the room obtained the name of the "Neo lakh ka kumra."

The extensive ruins between Lahore and the Shalamar gardens, show that in former times the city extended from the latter to its present site; and a vivid idea is thereby afforded of the former size of this capital of the Punjab.

The various sirdars in the service of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh have princely houses in the city of Lahore; among others, that of the late Jemadar Khooshyal Singh was conspicuous, and only second in size and grandeur to the palace itself.

Shalamar gardens.

The Shalamar gardens were constructed after the model of the celebrated ones of the same name

at Delhi, and have been kept in tolerable order through the exertions of Runjeet Singh, who was exceedingly fond of gardens and flowers. In the country lying between Shalamar and Lahore, several places were laid out by him in flower gardens, and a small house constructed at each for the accommodation of the Maharajah when visiting these favourite spots.

Though Lahore has always been the capital of the Punjab, the city of Kussoor, now a dilapidated place, was coeval with it in size and grandeur, and, at first, formed a distinct capital of this portion of the Doab lying between the Gharra and the Ravee. The ruins of Kussoor point it out as a place of great extent, and it was held possession of by the present family of Mumdote, and conquered with difficulty by Runjeet Singh after he had made himself master of the other portion of the Punjab.

The former deep bed of the Gharra is to be seen near Kussoor, showing that this river, which now flows about five miles from Feerozpore, had at one time pursued its course close to Kussoor, and about twelve miles from its present channel.

The second city of the Punjab, and the first in a commercial point of view, is Umritsir. It is also a place of great sanctity, from the existence of a holy tank and Gooroo temple, in the construction and adornment of which vast sums of money have been expended. Umritsir.

The dome is exceedingly rich, and its gilded and

glittering surface has a splendid appearance when reflecting the rays of the setting sun.

The temple is built in the tank, surrounded by water on all sides, except where the causeway leading to it has been erected. The door of the temple faces the north, and on the ground-floor opposite to it sits the presiding Gooroo, with the holy book of the Grunth lying open before him. This apartment is strewed with flowers and the presents made by the daily visiters.

The road leading to the door of the temple is constantly crowded by Sikhs passing to and from the temple. A flight of steps leads to the upper apartments, from which a full view is obtained of the Sacred Tank, and the numerous handsome buildings erected on its sides, belonging to the various Sikh Sirdars in the Punjab, as well as on this side of the Sutlej.

The window shutters of the temple are covered with gold, and the whole structure is of a rich and beautiful description.

The Ukalees.

Opposite the great temple or the *Durbar Sahib*, as it is usually called by the Sikhs themselves, stands the temple of the Ukalees, who, at the present day, exhibit more of the original character of the Sikhs, as established by the early founder of the Sikh religion, than is to be met with among the common Sikhs. The Ukalees are extravagant fanatics; they wage war with the followers of all other religions, agreeably to the tenets of their great reformer, of whom we shall speak hereafter. They

carry destruction wherever an opportunity offers, and sometimes cross the Gharra on plundering expeditions.

The Ukalee is always known by his blue turban, and the circles of chukhurs of steel, resembling quoits, which he wears over it. These are weapons of warfare, thrown with great precision and often deadly effect by the Ukalee. No weapons but fire-arms have any chance against such missiles.

Not far from Umritsir is the city of Taruntara. It is chiefly inhabited by the Ukalees, and forms a place of some interest in the history of the Gooroos (spiritual teachers). Taruntara.

There are many objects of interest in the neighbourhood of Umritsir. Near the city, on the road to Lahore, is the fort of Govindgurh, so named after the tenth and last Gooroo, Govind Singh. It is, or was, the depository of the public treasure. The place is strongly built, but the situation is not a commanding one, and could not long stand a siege with guns of a large calibre. Govindgurh.

Umritsir is a fortified city, but of no great strength. Unlike the fort of Bhurtpore in British India, it is constructed of brick, and whole masses of the wall would tumble down before a battering train; while the ditch is insignificant, and filled with water from the Motee Jheel. Several houses are built on the bastions at Umritsir, and on one of them stands the house formerly occupied by Goojur Singh, a chieftain who went as ambassador

to Calcutta, on the part of the Lahore Government, with presents for the King of England.*

Rambagh. The Rambagh is close to Umritsir, and consists of a garden, as the name implies. An old fort formerly occupied the site. The garden contains several large and neat houses, which were occupied by Sikh chieftains, when they visited Umritsir for religious purposes, and the celebration of the festival of the Dusserah.

Thus much of the rivers and chief towns in the Punjab. We will now address ourselves to the history of that interesting country.

Nothing of certainty is known regarding the Punjab or its kings, until the fourth century before the Christian era, when the Punjab was subdued by Alexander the Great.

It is generally supposed that Alexander reached the right bank of the Beas, or Hyphasis, after conquering the country, and receiving the submission, successively, of Porus, Sophites, and Phegelas. The first of these is stated, by Indian historians, to have been the same as Phoor, king of Hindostan; but their account widely differs from that of the Greek historians, and is no doubt in many respect fabulous. According to them, the battle between Porus and Alexander took place at Sirhind, so that the conqueror must have passed

* This unfortunate man was addicted to the immoderate use of spirits, and falling from the bastion while in a state of intoxication, was killed on the spot. In the fort, or rather on the walls, the late Rajah Dhyan Singh, Prime Minister of Runjeet Singh, had some of his own guns stationed.

both the Beas and Sutlej, and reached the Jumnah. In Quintus Curtius, the river which Alexander wished to cross is stated to have been eleven days' march from the Ganges; it is described not only as a broad river, but rendered still more difficult to ford, by the rocks which lie about and beneath the stream. These remarks certainly do not apply to the Beas of the present day, and we are led to the belief that the union of the Beas and Sutlej, which is named the Gharra, was the river at which Alexander made a halt of two days, and at length abandoned the further prosecution of his conquests from the unwillingness, or rather the inability of his troops to follow him, to oppose the Gangaridæ and Pharrasii, who were said to inhabit the further bank of the Ganges. No mention is made of the Jumnah, though it is hardly to be supposed that Porus could have been ignorant of its existence, or would have concealed it, since both he and Phegelas appear to have been anxious to impress on the mind of the conqueror, the great and insurmountable dangers he would have to encounter before he reached the Ganges. If Alexander really crossed the Sutlej before encountering Porus, and arrived at the Jumnah, then the account of the distance between it and the Ganges is perfectly reconcilable to the relative situations of these two great rivers. We are inclined, however, to the belief, that Alexander never crossed the Beas, or Sutlej; but for the reasons already stated, the term Hyphasis appears to have

been applied to the Gharra. The city which Alexander found defended, not only by a wall, but by a marsh, would indicate Lahore. There are however no means of arriving at the fact, for the historian confines himself to the names of the rivers, and the reigning princes of the Punjab, in describing the progress of the Macedonian. In the height of the rains, the ground between Lahore and the Ravee, or Hydraotes, is a complete swamp; and in the time of Aurungzebe, the river itself encroached so far on the city, as to require a bulwark for the protection of the latter. It is not likely that Alexander, bent as he was on further conquests, would have taken the circuitous route by the Beas and Sutlej, when he could reach the Gharra in two or three days, as it then no doubt occupied its bed near the city of Kussoor. The latter city may therefore have been that of Phegelas.

The country between the Hydaspes and Hydraotes, is described by Quintus Curtius as a jungly tract inhabited by wild beasts. The banian, or bur tree, is delineated with great fidelity by the historian. "*Plerique rami instar ingentium stipitum flexi in humum, rursus qua se curvaverant, erigebantur adeo, ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex sua radice generatæ.*" The poisonous qualities of the snakes are also alluded to: their bite was immediately followed by death, unless a remedy was applied by the natives.

That the people of the Punjab were well ac-

quainted with the use of arms is shown by the formidable array of war chariots drawn up to oppose Alexander after he had crossed the Ravee. These chariots were tied together, and filled with armed men; some had darts, others spears and axes. No mention is made of bows and arrows, so generally employed by the Sikhs of the present day, as weapons of war. So unusual a mode of warfare alarmed the Macedonians, for the barbarians leaped from one chariot to another when wishing to assist their comrades. After losing eighty of their men, the barbarians fled within their city. A noble breed of dogs is mentioned, four of which were considered a match for a lion, a beast of prey then common in the Punjab, and until of late years frequently found in the Hurrianah district, on this side the Sutlej. The term *Singh*, applied by Gooroo Govind to his followers, may have had reference to the great number of lions infesting the Punjab, even in his time. At the present day the tigers appear to have taken the place of the lions, and are often met with in the jungles skirting the banks of the rivers.

The term Singh.

It is to be lamented, that no authentic records are to be found regarding the Punjab after the time of Alexander, until the time of the Mussulman rulers of the country, embracing a period of 1,300 years, or from the year before the Christian era 325, until A.D. 997, in the reign of Subuctagi. At this time, it is related in Dow's history of Hindostan, Jeipal was the Hindoo king of Lahore,

and had frequent contests with the emperor of Ghuzni.

"His son and successor, Anundpal, waged war with the great Mamood, who defeated both him and his father Jeipal; the latter having been vanquished both by Suburtagi and Mamood, burned himself on a funeral pile, according to Hindoo custom. Anundpal, on his defeat, fled to Cashmere, and soon after we find him in Mooltan, where Mamood proceeded to punish him.

"On this occasion, the Hindoo princes of Hindostan were determined to drive the Mussulmans from India, and entered into a confederacy with Anundpal; the chief of these were the princes of Oojein, Gwalior, Callinger, Kinnoge, Delhi, and Ajmere. Anundpal was also joined by the Gickers. Thus supported, he surrounded the Mussulmans, who were obliged to entrench themselves.

"Mamood commenced the action by ordering a thousand archers to the front, but they were attacked by the Gickers, and obliged to fly to the entrenched camp, where a great slaughter took place, and 5,000 of the Mussulmans were killed in a few minutes. The fate of the day was however decided in favour of Mamood, by the elephant of Anundpal taking flight, which struck a panic throughout his army, and the victory was completed by the Arabian horse under the command of Abdulla, and the Turkish, Affghan, and Chilligis troops, under Arsilla."—*Dow.*

This was a sad blow to the Hindoos, but a treaty

of peace was concluded between Anundpal and Mamood, whereby the former kept possession of the Punjab. Anundpal must have been possessed of great wealth, since we find him offering to reimburse Mamood the expense of his expedition to India for the purpose of destroying Thannessir, besides an offer of fifty elephants and jewels to a considerable amount.

The Punjab was ultimately wrested from the Hindoos by Mamood, on his return from his tenth expedition to India. The last Hindoo king of Lahore was Putturugepal, who fled on the approach of Mamood, and the Emperor appointed one of his omrahs to the government of Lahore, in the year of the Christian era 1022. (Dow.)

In the reign of Mamood, an attempt was made by the Indian chiefs of the Punjab to regain the country, Collecting a large army, they advanced to Lahore, and invested it. The siege lasted seven months, and the Mussulmans, seeing no chance of succour, sallied out, and offered battle to the Hindoos, who were so struck with their resolution, that they betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter.

In the year A. D. 1158, Chusero, son of Byram, was crowned at Lahore, and died there after a reign of seven years; so that this is the first of the emperors of Ghuzni, who, leaving his own country, made Lahore the seat of empire.

Chusero the Second reigned at Lahore, where he was besieged by Mahomed, brother to the

Prince of Ghor, but unable to take the place, a treaty was formed between him and Chusero. Lahore was a second time besieged by Mahomed, but with the same result; he therefore laid waste the country with fire and sword, and built the fort of Sealcote, which was, in its turn, besieged by Chusero, but without success. Mahomed for the third time advanced against Lahore, and became master of it by treachery.

Lahore was thus transferred to the house of Ghor.

When Mahomed Gòri had taken Lahore, he bestowed it on the Governor of Mooltan, and retired himself to Ghuzni.

It is needless for us, in this place, to follow the history of the Punjab while under the Mussulman dynasty.

The Sikhs, who inhabit the Punjab and hold possession of the country, had their origin, like other nations, in small beginnings; but unlike those of Europe, instead of making conquest their first object, the Sikhs began by uniting themselves into a distinct religious sect, or offset from the Hindoos, having religious tenets of their own, and obeying, as their head, a teacher, or Gooroo.

Gooroo. Some native historians explain the word Gooroo to be derived from Giroh, a crowd or assemblage of people of different castes. But the more general acceptation of the word 'Gooroo' is that significant of teacher, and the followers of this Sikhs. teacher are named *Sikhs* or learners.

The first Gooroo, or teacher, among the Sikhs was Nanuk (Bedee,) and the last was Govind Singh (Sodee.) Before proceeding, however, with the history of Nanuk, it may be necessary to explain the meaning of the terms Bedee and Sodee, as applied to the Gooroos.

Bedee and Sodee.

It is related that in former times the Rajah Ram Chunder, son of Kussruth, divorced his wife Seeta, and gave injunctions to his younger brother, Luchmun, to carry her twelve miles into the jungle, and then desert her. Luchmun so far obeyed this order that he carried her into the country of the Punjab, and there left her at the spot where the Hindoo place of worship now exists called Ram Teeruth, about six miles from Umritsir.

Seeta was here delivered of two sons, one of whom she named Loh, and the other Kussoo. When arrived at manhood, these became wealthy men, and each built a city to which he gave his own name; that of the elder being Lahore, and the younger Kussoor, both of which remain at the present day; the former being the capital of the Punjab, and the latter exhibiting traces of an extensive city, about twelve miles from Feerozpore.

Lahore and Kussoor.

The descendants of Loh and Kussoo continued to possess Lahore and Kussoor; but after a long series of years, when Kulrao was king of Lahore, and Kulput was king of Kussoor, the latter raised a large army, and made war on the former, whom he vanquished, and took possession of Lahore,

expelling Kulrao from the Punjab. Kulrao, after his defeat and flight, took refuge in the Dekhan with Amrit, king of that country. The king treated the fugitive with great distinction and kindness, bestowed his daughter on him in marriage, and at his death left him heir to his kingdom. By this princess, Kulrao had a son, named Sodee Rao, who succeeded his father. He made conquests in Hindostan, and became a great king. One day his wuzeer told Sodee Rao, that "though king of so many countries, his proper kingdom was the Punjab, from which his father had been expelled by Kulput, and was never able to return and regain his kingdom," Sodee Rao, on hearing this, collected a large army, and set out for Lahore. He engaged his uncle in battle and defeated him, driving himself and all his children out of the Punjab. After this he ascended the throne of Lahore.

Kulput, after his defeat, became a wanderer on the face of the earth, and at length reached the holy city of Kassir, known in modern times by the name of Benares. It was then, as now, the great resort of learned Hindoos, and here Kulput began to study the books of the Hindoo religion, called "Béds." While thus employed, he found a passage which stated that "tyranny was a great sin, and so long as a man exercised it he had no right to expect mercy." Reflecting on this sentence, and considering that he himself had behaved as a tyrant to his brother in making war on, and dethroning him, he resolved on going to Lahore, and asking

the forgiveness of Sodee Rao for the tyranny he had practised towards his father.

On reaching Lahore, he sought an interview with Sodee Rao, and began reading the Béds to him; on hearing the third Béd, Sodee Rao relented, and embracing his uncle, said, "You ask forgiveness, which I grant, and as a reward for your reading the Béd to me, I will give you my kingdom, and as a beggar will wander in the jungle," Kulput replied, "You are a good man Sodee, Rao; and though my descendants may be Gooroos and rulers, yet yours will eventually enjoy their rights and privileges, and become great sirdars and kings."

Sodee Rao, on hearing these words, took his departure, and Kulput became, once more, king of Lahore. From the circumstance of his having been a reader of the Béds, he was surnamed Bédee, his descendants were named Bédees, and Nanuk being one of them, was called (Nanuk) Bédee; this tribe continued to be Gooroos until the time of Ram Dass, who was the first Gooroo of the Sadee tribe, and hence named (Ram Dass) Sadee.

The Sadees are numerous at the present day about Muckawal, and on this side the Sutlej at Macheewarah, which in fact belongs to two sirdars of the Sodee tribe. It is difficult to reconcile this story of Loh and Kussoo with the Mussulman account of the Punjab: either it is altogether fictitious, or the descendants of Loh and Kussoo must have reigned in the Punjab long anterior to the Mussulman dynasty; but then it is equally diffi-

cult to explain the circumstance of Nanuk being a descendant of Kulput Bédee, unless we suppose that the dynasty descended from the family of Kulput to the time of Putturugepal, the last Hindoo king of the Punjab. The records of Jeipal, Annudpal, and Putturugepal are so scanty, excepting as regards their contentions with the Mussulmans, that we know nothing of their private history, and for want of a better explanation of the terms Bédee and Sodee, we must suppose that Nanuk was a lineal descendant of Kulput, and Ram Dass equally so of Sodee Rao.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF GOOROO NANUK (BEDEE.)

NANUK was born in the year of the Hijera 892, corresponding to the year of the Christian era 1468* and to 1525 of Bikermajeet, in the 32nd year of the reign of Beloli (Lodi). Nanuk's father, whose name was Kulloo of the Chuttree caste, was a native of the village of Tilwundy, but Nanuk was not born there, though stated to be so by both Forster and Malcolm. Tilwundy is about sixty miles from Lahore, [*Forster.*] and twenty south of Wuzeerabah, on the route from thence to Umritsir, in latitude 32° 4′.—[*Thornton.*] In the time of Forster (1782) the village was known by the name

Birth of Nanuk.

* In Malcolm's sketch of the Sikhs, the year 1469 is given; but the year in the text is the correct one, since the calculation is made with both the era of the Hijera, and that of Bikermajeet. Malcolm most likely followed Forster, who also assumed 1469 as the year of Nanuk's birth. In Dow's history of Hindostan, Bikermajeet is said to have died in the eighty-ninth year of the Christian era. The Mussulman authors of the History of the Sikhs preserve invariably, a period of fifty-seven years between the Christian era and that of Bikermajeet, or Samvat.

of Rhaypore. In the account of the birth of Nanuk it is called Tilwundy-rae-malar, meaning "wisdom and wealth," and the change to Raepore was probably given to indicate the "city of wisdom," from the circumstance of Nanuk having been supposed to have been born there, or at least of his father being an inhabitant of the village.

Miraculous story connected with it.

For a long time after his marriage, Kulloo had no children, and became a fukeer, or religious mendicant. It so happened that one day another fukeer came to Kulloo's hut, and partook of some food. Kulloo no doubt told his story to his guest, for no sooner had the latter finished his meal, than he ordered the fragments to be carried to Kulloo's wife, who, he said, would conceive, and her son be a great man. After she had ate of the food, the fukeer's prophecy was fulfilled, and on her father hearing the glad tidings, he sent for his daughter to the village of Maree, which is near Kot Kutchwa, and here Nanuk was born.

Tilwundy cannot therefore claim the honour of being the birthplace of Nanuk. As to the miraculous part of the story, it deserves but little notice, and was probably composed at some afterperiod, to impart a degree of sanctity to the Gooroo.

After the fulfilment of the fukeer's prophecy, Kulloo returned to Tilwundee, and resumed his occupation as a merchant, though his wife probably remained with her father, and had a daughter named Nanukee, who married a Hindoo in the ser-

vice of Dawbut Khan Lodi, a relation of the reigning emperor of Delhi, Beloli Lodi.—*Malcolm.*

Nanuk's intellect was precocious. At the early age of four, he was sent to the village school, the master whereof was a Deist, and wished to inculcate the same principle in his youthful scholar, but the boy, to his great astonishment, instead of yielding implicit credence, enquired of his teacher, "What proofs he could give him of the existence of a God?" Such a question naturally inspired the man with a wish to know more of his scholar, and on making inquiry, he was told that Nanuk was the gift of a fukeer! On hearing this, the schoolmaster renounced the world and became a fukeer himself. As Nanuk advanced in years, he became partial to fukeers, dividing his property amongst them; and though he wanted proof of the existence of a Deity in his boyhood, he soon became a firm believer in one. His belief in Deism.

His partiality to the fukeers led him often into serious scrapes with his father: one is related by Malcolm. Nanuk having received a sum of money from his father to purchase salt at one village, in order to sell it at another, happened on the road to fall in with some fukeers, with whom he wished to commence a conversation, but they were so weak from want of victuals, which they had not tasted for three days, that they could only reply to the observations of Nanuk by bending their heads, and other civil signs of acquiescence. Partiality to fukeers.

Nanuk, affected by their situation, said to his companion, "My father has sent me to deal in salt with a view to profit; but the gain of this world is unstable and profitless; my wish is to relieve these poor men, and to obtain that gain which is permanent and eternal." His companion (Bala Sandhu) replied, "Thy resolution is good: do not delay its execution." Nanuk immediately distributed his money to the hungry fukeers, who, after they had gained strength from the refreshment which it obtained for them, entered into a long discourse with him on the unity of God, with which he was much delighted. His father did not at all approve of this mode of laying out his money, and though his sister, Nanukee, interceded, Nanuk, no doubt, was punished. His father used his utmost endeavours to turn the attention of his son to worldly matters, and with this view built a shop for him at Sultanpore, in the Bist Jalindhur, and furnished it with various articles of merchandise; but, instead of turning them to any account, he bestowed the whole on fukeers. Failing in his object, by this means, his father insisted on his marrying; thinking, no doubt, that this step would cause him to renounce his wandering life. He was accordingly married at Wittala; but he speedily left his home and went to the jungle in search of fukeers; and wherever he heard of them, there he proceeded. Nanuk had now publicly become one of them; and his natural talents, though still a boy, soon won for

Becomes a fukeer.

him a high place among them. He became a teacher at the early age of eleven years, and had followers; among the rest, Murdana, a musician, who afterwards attended him in his travels, and from being a Mussulman, became a convert to the tenets of Nanuk. Two others of his followers are celebrated: the one named Boodha, and the other Lehna. To these Nanuk taught his doctrines, which were those of pure Deism.

Nanuk endeavoured to conciliate, or reconcile, both Hindoos and Mussulmans, by forbidding the former to worship images and idols; while he deprecated the intolerance of the Mussulmans to the Hindoos; and above all, forbade the slaughter of the cow, an offence which is to this day visited by the severest punishment among the Sikhs—the loss of life being often the penalty incurred for killing the animal.

His peaceful tenets.

The precepts of Nanuk were those of peace with all mankind; and he inculcated an abhorrence of war among people believing in God, on whom his firm reliance was placed for every thing; and acting on this principle, he was regardless of wordly matters, and divided every thing he had with his fellow-creatures.

On the whole, Nanuk's tenets evince a zealous desire to remove all the abuses and idolatries of the Hindoos, and the intolerance of the Mussulmans.

Nanuk's time was spent in offering praises to God in poetical effusions; and he made no dis-

tinction between Hindoos and Mussulmans. The poems of Nanuk are celebrated. He traversed Hindostan and Scinde; and, according to some authors, visited Mecca. He appears to have been a match for the Moollahs, as the following anecdote, related by Malcolm, will show:—"How darest thou, infidel," said the offended Mahomedan priest, "turn thy feet towards the House of God?" "Turn them, if you can," said the pious but indignant Nanuk, "in a direction where the House of God is not."

Answer to the Moolahs.

His veneration for the cow.

Nanuk did not deny the mission of Mahomed, though he reprobated his oppressive cruelty and intolerance to the Hindoos, and, above all, the slaughter of the cow; for these crimes he believed the prophet had justly died. Nanuk considered himself a successor to Mahomed; and that he was destined to restore, by his example, precepts, and writings, the whole of mankind to the worship of God. He urged the Hindoos and Mussulmans to read their Scriptures, and obey the doctrines taught there. But while inculcating faith in one Supreme Deity, and offering their praises to Him alone, he did not forget that good works were equally incumbent; and that to these tenets of faith and works they should look for mercy, and it mattered little to what caste they belonged.

Nanuk's sublime notion of the Deity.

The following extract from Malcolm's work will give a sublime idea of Nanuk's notion of the Deity, and of the worthlessness of men:—"A hundred thousand of Mahomeds," said Nanuk, "a million of

Brahmas, Vishnus, and a hundred thousand Ramas stand at the gate of the Most High; these all perish. God, alone, is immortal. Yet men, who unite in the praise of God, are not ashamed of living in contention with each other, which proves that the evil spirit has subdued all. He alone is a true Hindoo whose heart is just, and he only is a good Mussulman whose life is pure."

Nanuk was believed by his followers to have had an interview with the Supreme God; which he thus describes:—"One day Nanuk heard a voice from above, exclaiming, 'Nanuk, approach!' He replied, 'Oh God! what power have I to stand in thy presence?' The voice said, 'Close thine eyes.' Nanuk shut his eyes and advanced; he was told to look up; he did so, and heard the word, 'Wa!' or '*Well done!*' pronounced five times, and then '*Wa! Guruji,*' or '*Well done! Teacher.*' After this, God said, 'Nanuk! I have sent thee into the world in the Kali-yug (or depraved age)—go and bear my name! Nanuk said, 'Oh God! how can I bear the mighty burthen? If my age was extended to tens of millions of years, if I drank of immortality, and my eyes were formed of the sun and moon, and were never closed, still, oh God! I could not presume to take charge of Thy wonderful name!' 'I will be thy Gúrú' (teacher), said God, 'and thou shalt be a Gúrú to all mankind, thy sect shall be great in the world, and thy word Púri Púri; the word of the Bairágí is Ram! Ram!; that of the Sanyase, Om; Nama! Narayen!; and the word of the Yogis,

Ades! Ades!; and the salutation of the Mahomedans is, Salam Alikam; and that of the Hindoos, Ram! Ram!; but the word of thy sect shall be Gúrú, and I will forgive the crimes of thy disciples. The place of worship of the Bairagis is called Ram Sála; that of the Yogis, Asan; that of the Sanyásis, Mat; but that of thy tribe shall be Deerma Sála. Thou must teach unto thy followers three lessons: the first, to worship my name; the second, charity; the third, ablution. They must not abandon the world, and they must do ill to no being; for into every being have I infused breath; and whatever I am, thou art, for between us there is no difference. It is a blessing that thou art sent into the Kali-yug.' After this, '*Wa! Guru,*' or '*Well done! Teacher!,*' was pronounced from the mouth of the Most High Gúrú, or teacher, (God,) and Nanuk came to give light and freedom to the universe." (Malcolm.)

The above passage, as Malcolm justly observed, "gives a sufficient view of the ideas which the Sikhs entertain of the divine origin of their faith."

Nanuk believed in metempsychosis, and that really good men would enjoy paradise; while those who had no claim to the name of good, but yet were not bad, would undergo another probation, by revisiting the world in the human form; and that the bad would animate the bodies of animals, particularly dogs and cats: but it appears from the Punjabee authors, that Nanuk was acquainted with the Mahomedan doctrine regarding the fall of man and a future state, and that he represented it to

his followers as a system in which God, by shewing a heaven and hell, had in his goodness, held out future reward and punishment to man, whose will he had left free, to invite him to good actions and deter him from bad."—*Malcolm.*

The peaceful tenets inculated by Nanuk form a pleasing contrast to the present warlike and quarrelsome habits of the Sikhs; but the cause of this change will be manifested in the sequel.

Towards the latter part of his life, Nanuk dwelt on the banks of the Ravee, and established his family there. He had two sons: the one named Luchmee Doss, and the other Sree Chund; the former became a man of the world. He had two sons, whose decendants remain at the present day. Sree Chund was a fukeer, and from him are descended the Oodasee fukeers. Nanuk lived on the banks of the Ravee.

Some say that Nanuk had an uncle named Lalloo, whose son was called Luchmee Doss. Lalloo had a great esteem for Nanuk, calling him his son, and Luchmee Nanuk's servant. Nanuk formed a very strong attachment to Luchmee, saying they had the same body and soul, and there was no difference betwixt them. On this account the descendants of Luchmee Doss were considered the same as those of Nanuk, and it is said that Nanuk had in reality, no descendants. Those of Sree Chund are named Nanuk Pootras, or children of Nanuk.

Boodha, one of Nanuk's followers, lived to a great age: his story is curious.

Boodha. One day Baha Nanuk was sitting at the village of Toonga, and being thirsty he called on Boodha, who was feeding his cows near the place, to bring him some water in a vessel (lotah): Boodha replied, that "the water was at a great distance;" but added, "if you will look after my cows, I will bring you some." Nanuk said, "*There* is a tank; bring water from thence." Boodha replied, "There is certainly a tank near at hand, but it is dried up." Nanuk, rejoined "Go and see." Boodha went towards the tank, and to his surprise found it filled with water, though he had seen it dry in the morning! He filled the vessel and brought it to Nanuk; and from witnessing the miracle, Boodha became a follower or disciple of Nanuk, who bestowed his blessing on him. This man lived in the time of the Gooroos Urjun and Hur Govind. The former requested him to point out the tank from which he had taken the water, in order that he might construct a new one; which he did, and called it *Umritsir*, or the water of immortality. Boodha had two sons, and lived at the village of Ram Dass.

Lehna. Another follower of Nanuk, and his successor, was named Lehna, of the Chuttree caste. This Lehna was on his way to Juwala Mookhee, a great place of worship among the Hindoos, near Kote Kangra. On the road he met Nanuk, and from his preaching became a convert and follower of the Gooroos.

Nanuk died at the age of 71, in the year 963 of

the Hijera, and A.D. 1539, in the first year of the reign of Akhbar. He reigned as Gooroo sixty years, five months, and seven days. His tomb (summad) is on the bank of the Ravee, five miles from Kulanoor. Vast crowds collect annually to perform certain ceremonies in commemoration of the day of his decease.—*Forster.* The place is named Keertipore; and according to Malcolm, "a small piece of Nanuk's garment is exhibited to pilgrims, as a sacred relic, at his Dhurmasala, or temple." Death of Nanuk. His tomb.

Nanuk, as the founder of the Sikhs, is greatly venerated by that nation, though they appear to have entirely forgotten his tenets of peace. In the time of Nanuk, his followers were probably few in number, and leading quiet and peaceable lives; no notice was taken of them by the Mussulman rulers of the Punjab, and there is no mention made of them in the history of the latter. It is stated by Foster, that "in one of Baber's expeditions into India, Nanuk having been apprehended by some of his soldiers, was brought before that prince, who informed of the sanctity of his character, treated him with respect and indulgence." Malcolm says, that "Baber was pleased with him, and ordered an ample maintenance to be bestowed on him, which the Sikh priest refused, observing 'that he trusted in Him who provided for all men, and that a man of virtue and religion would consent to receive no favour or reward from men.'"

Nanuk must have commenced his ministry at His character.

eleven years of age, and thus spent a long life in propagating his doctrines. By the side of a well, and under the shade of the peepul tree, did Nanuk discourse to his followers; he required no costly building for this purpose, and the word *deyrah*, or tent, is often alluded to as the place where he preached; with no other protection than that afforded by a tent, he travelled over the whole of Hindostan, and visited Persia and Arabia. After completing these travels, he put off the fukeer's dress, though he continued to instruct his followers. This change in his dress drew upon him the violent opposition of the Hindoos, and according to Malcolm, "he enraged the yogiswaras* so much, that they tried all their powers of enchantment to terrify him. Some assumed the shape of lions and tigers, others hissed like snakes, one fell in a shower of fire, and another tore the stars from the firmament."

On Nanuk being required to astonish them by some miracle, he replied, "I have nothing to exhibit worthy of your regard. A holy teacher has no defence but the purity of his doctrine. The world may change, but the Creator is unchangeable."

Nanuk is described by all authors as a man of great moral courage, and possessed of powers of eloquence which never failed to produce a great effect on his hearers. His object was to prove, by

* Recluse penitents, who by means of mental and corporeal mortification, have acquired command over the powers of nature.—*Malcolm.*

his precepts, example, and writings, that he was an inspired teacher. He harangued the people, who collected about him wherever he went; and he employed his leisure hours in composition. As an example of his unbending character it may be mentioned, that he was invited by a Rajah to renounce his mode of life and austere habits, and to accept the enjoyment of all human luxuries. But all such offers were made in vain. By his powerful eloquence and arguments he even converted this Rajah, and resided with him during a considerable length of time, in the course of which he was employed in composing the "Pran Sunculee," a sort of text book for the guidance of his followers. This was an early production; it was finished soon after he had assumed the life and habits of a fukeer, and was afterwards incorporated in the first part of the Grunth. Miracles are attributed to Nanuk by his followers, but he never pretended to any himself. Filling the tank with water may be considered as one, and was the cause of Boodha becoming his follower. Malcolm relates, that "when Nanuk was quite a youth, and employed to tend cattle in the fields, he happened to repose himself under the shade of a tree, and as the sun declined towards the west, its rays fell on his face, when a large black snake advancing to the spot where he lay, raised itself from the ground and interposed its spread hood between Nanuk and the sun's rays. This was observed by the chief of the district, and from the great veneration in which the snake is

held by the Hindoos, was no doubt received as a sure proof of the future greatness of Nanuk."

The Grunth.

Nanuk's precepts for the guidance of his followers are contained in the "Grunth," or Holy Book of the Sikhs; it was begun, and the first part of it written, by Nanuk and his immediate successors. This part is named Adi-Grunth, to distinguish it from the second portion, composed exclusively by the great reformer Gooroo Govind, Nanuk's successor. This second part is accordingly named the "Dasuma Padshah ka Grunth," or "Book of the tenth king." The religious tenets of Nanuk, as contained in the Adi-Grunth, continued in force, with slight modifications, until the time of Gooroo Govind, who effected a total reform in the religion, manners, and habits of the Sikhs; and it is now in vain to look for the observance of any of his peaceful doctrines, excepting among the descendants of Sree Chund, or the Nanuk Pootras. Before the time of Govind, however, some of the Gooroos had armed their followers, but this was chiefly done for the purpose of defence; with this exception, all the tenets of Nanuk were religiously preserved until Govind Singh gave an entirely new character to the Sikhs, who from being quiet and peaceable, became at once a war-like tribe, spreading terror and desolation wherever they went.

The Grunth is written in the Goomoocki character, "a modified species of the Nagari." It is placed in the holy temple of Umritsir, and constantly referred to in all matters by the Sikhs.

Though the followers of Nanuk were forbidden to worship, or pay homage to any object but the Supreme Deity, they have so far forgotten his precepts as to bestow adoration on his own name. He is considered a saint by them, and they pay him divine honours, addressing him in their prayers as their saviour and mediator, and until his tomb was washed away by the Ravee, the Sikhs made pilgrimages thereto.

The simplicity and purity of the doctrines taught and inculcated by Nanuk, were the means of drawing towards him many who had troubled themselves but little with the complicated structure of the Hindoo religion, polluted, as it had become, by the worship of images and idols. Nanuk at once directed their attention to the one-existing Supreme Deity, who was endowed by him with the great attributes of omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotence. He it was who knew all their actions, and their innermost thoughts; He it was who was ever present through space and time; the only Immortal: all others perished and were lost! Nothing was created without Him, and what men viewed with awe and wonder, emanated from His Omnipotent hand. All the events which occurred were regulated by His presence, and every gift bestowed on man was supplied by His bounty. No place was without His presence. "Turn my feet," said Nanuk, "to where the house of God is not,"—showing clearly that the mind of the teacher was deeply imbued with the great truth

that all space was filled with Him. The most insignificant animal that crawled on the earth, the least complicated flower that decked the face of the desert, were alike the work of the same Divine hand that formed the elephant and wide-spreading banian tree! Trusting to this bountiful Being, Nanuk despised all worldly riches, unless in so far as they served to relieve his fellow-creatures; and charity to all mankind was one of the precepts which he was induced to preach to his followers, next to devotion to the Deity. The life of a fellow-creature was sacred in his eyes, for the same breath was breathed into them all by the Almighty, and was only to be taken away by Him. Murder, war, and discord, whereby the lives of men were sacrificed, he deprecated; and cruëlty and intolerance were held in abomination by him, as heinous sins.

The doctrine of the fall of man, by a first act of disobedience to the will of his Creator, was not admitted by Nanuk: he held that nothing was needed but a pure and holy life to insure happiness; grounded, as such must be, in a belief of the Deity ever present to watch man's actions. After all, Nanuk's was an imperfect code of religion, and finite in its application; but such as it was, there are many professing Christians whose creed is equally limited.

The religious code of Nanuk deteriorated.

That the Sikhs, as originally constituted by Nanuk, were a singular people, there can be no doubt; but since the reformation of the tribe by Govind, the tenth and last Gooroo, they have lost

all distinctiveness, and are now, like other Pagan and barbarous nations, victims to their evil propensities, their morality is even below that of the blood-thirsty Moslems, for they are guilty of crimes revolting in the sight of God and man.

We have now brought to a conclusion this sketch of the history of Nanuk; it will be seen that we have availed ourselves of the writings of others, but for the completion of such a work, the materials, are few and scanty. Were we to follow the Punjabee authors in relating the life of Nanuk, the incidents recorded would enable us to lay the ground-work of a romance, but it would certainly not deserve the name of history.

In tracing the lives of Nanuk's eight successors, it will not be necessary to enter into such minute particulars as are given above, as they were strict followers of Nanuk, inculcating his doctrine, and making proselytes to his tenets. The ninth Gooroo in descent from Nanuk deserves a more lengthened consideration, as under him the simplicity of the Sikhs was lost, and the nation, as already observed, became a powerful and warlike people.

CHAPTER II.

LIVES OF GOOROO UNGUT, UMMUR DOSS, RAM DOSS, URJUN, HUR GOVIND, HUR RAO, HUR KISHEN, AND TEJH BUHADUR.

Nanuk's successor.

If Nanuk really had two sons, he did not consider either of them a fit successor to the office he had created. Before his death, the Gooroo had chosen his faithful follower Lehna to succeed him, and named him Ungut, from the following circumstance.*

One day while Baba† Nanuk was wandering in the jungles, attended by Boodha and Lehna, at a certain place they found a coffin with a corpse in it. Nanuk desired Boodha to eat the corpse, but the latter in disgust refused. He gave the same order

His choice falls on Lehna, and the reason.

* Malcolm gives Ang—body, and Khud—own, as the explanation of the word, but without alluding to the circumstance in the text which gave rise to Nanuk calling Lehna his own body.

† *Baba* is a word often applied to fukeers; both this and *Shah* were frequently employed by the Sikh historians when speaking of their founder. They even style him *Nanuk Narinkur*, or *Nanuk the Omnipresent.—Malcolm.*

to Lehna, who, without any hesitation, complied, requesting to know with what part of the body he should commence. Nanuk replied, "With the feet." Lehna having opened the coffin, began to eat, when the corpse suddenly disappeared. On seeing with what readiness Lehna had obeyed his command, Nanuk embraced him, and from that time called him Ungut, or "own body." This is considered a miracle by the Sikhs, who believe that the body of Nanuk passed into that of Lehna. He was thenceforth appointed by Nanuk to succeed him.

His choice falls on Lehna.

On Ungut being appointed successor to Nanuk, the two sons of the latter, Luchmee Doss and Sree Chund, became his dire enemies, and said their father had been guilty of tyranny in thus depriving them of the Goorooship, and conferring it on a servant. They loaded Ungut, who was at the time in a very sickly condition, with abuse. On hearing of the conduct of his sons to his faithful follower, Nanuk was annoyed, and vowed that neither of them should ever succeed him, so long as Ungut or any of his descendants remained. He sent for Ungut, and passed his hands over his body, which was immediately restored to health, with the exception of his feet, which Nanuk, of course, did not touch. Ungut's feet remained therefore afflicted with a severe complaint, and day and night were as hot as fire. On account of this sore affliction, Ungut separated himself from the sons of Nanuk, and took up his abode at Kudoor, on the

Afflicted with a severe complaint, of which he died.

banks of the Beas, living there as a fukeer. He had only one attendant, named Ummur Doss, who on Ungut's death became Gooroo. Ungut had two sons, but both of them became men of the world. At length after great suffering, Ungut fell a victim to his disease in the thirteenth year of the reign of Akhbar, and in the 976th year of the Hijera, corresponding to A.D. 1552, and Bik. 1609. His death took place on the 4th of March at Kudoor, where his tomb was erected. He reigned as Gooroo for a period of twelve years, six months, and nine days. The successor to Ungut was named Ummur Doss; he was of the Chuttree caste, and sect of Phulla, and a native of Govindwal.

Ummur Doss becomes his disciple and servant.

When Ungut took up his abode at Kudoor, people visited him from every quarter, and among the rest, Ummur Doss, who formed a great attachment for the Gooroo, and became his disciple and follower. Every day he brought a vessel of water for the purpose of washing and cooling his master's feet. One dark and stormy night, while thus employed, he stumbled, fell, and hurt himself, breaking at the same time the jar containing the water. Some of the by-standers enquired who he was, others remarked—"He is a fukeer without house or home, and servant to Gooroo Ungut." On the tidings of the misfortune reaching the latter, he hastened to the spot, and laying his hands on Ummur Doss embraced him, and begged him not to be distressed, "I am your supporter," added Ungut, "and all I possess is yours." At the same time he appointed him his successor.

On the death of Ungut, Ummur Doss succeeded him. He was a wise and just Gooroo, and resided at his native village of Govindwal, and there built a baoulee, or large well with a shelter for travellers. On this he spent large sums of money, as the water was at a great depth. He had numerous disciples, and from amongst them he chose twenty-two, whom he sent to different parts of the country. Malcolm in his sketch of the Sikhs, mentions, that Ummur Doss built Kujàràwàl, and separated the Oodasee sect from the regular Sikhs: this sect was founded by Sree Chund, the son of Nanuk. Succeeds Ungut.

This Gooroo had a son named Mohun, and a daughter named Mohunee, more commonly called Bhainee. After reigning as Gooroo for the space of twenty-two years, five months, and eleven days, Ummur Doss died at the village of Govindwal on the 14th May, in the year of the Hijera 999, A.D. 1575, and Bik. 1632. His tomb was erected at Govindwal, but has since been washed away by the river. Ram Dass, who succeeded Ummur Doss, was the first of the Sodee Gooroos. When Ummur Doss was building his baoulee, a great number of masons and other workmen were employed, and vast crowds used to collect to witness the progress of the work; amongst the rest Ram Dass, of the Chuttree caste and Sodee family, a lineal descendant of Sodee Rao, who abdicated the throne of Lahore in favour of his Uncle Kulput (Bédee.) The boy had come with his mother from Lahore to the Beas, and employed himself in selling various History of Ram Dass Sodee.

little articles required by the workpeople. One day Ummur Doss was sitting by the masons, and observing Ram Dass, he told him to give something to his little daughter Bhainee. Ram Dass went in search of her; and she seeing that he was a handsome youth, became attached to him, and for her sake Ram Dass became a follower of her father.

He succeeds Ummur Doss.

He eventually married Bhainee, and thus united the two families of Bédees and Sodees; he was appointed successor to Ummur Doss.

It happened that the Emperor Akhbar, who was then at Lahore, heard of the fame of Ram Dass and wished to see him. He threw off the trammels of religion, and after conversing with the Gooroo was much pleased with him, and as a mark of esteem and regard, the Emperor issued an order, that a certain portion of ground should be granted to Ram Dass, which was accordingly done, and the ground, thus bestowed, being of a circular form, was named *Chukk[illegible] Ram Dass.* In this enclosure the Gooroo built Umritsir, and went occasionally from Govindwal to reside there, and his disciples and followers settled at that place. In the year of the Hijera 1005* Akhbar went from the Punjab to the Dekhan, and on arriving at Govindwal he encamped there, and sent for Ram Dass; he received the Gooroo with great distinction and kindness, and requested him to ask a favour. Ram Dass replied that he wanted nothing, but he had one remark to

Akhbar bestows a grant of land on him.

Treats the Gooroo with great respect.

* In Dow, the year 1008 is stated.

make. Akhbar enquired what it was. The Gooroo replied, that during the stay of the Emperor at Lahore, the consumption of grain had been great, and high prices paid for it, but now that the court had left that place the price would be small, and the ryots suffer accordingly. "I would recommend," he added, "that you levy no rent this year." Akhbar was pleased with the remark, and said the Gooroo was the friend of the poor; he ordered the rents to be remitted, and bestowed, at the same time, valuable presents on Ram Dass.

After this period, crowds of people followed the Gooroo, and many of the Zemindars became his disciples. By Bhainee, the daughter of Ummur Dass, he had three sons: the first was named Mahadeo, who became a fukeer; the second, Pritthee Dass, was a man of the world; and the third, Urjun, who was his father's favourite, became his successor. Ram Dass, after a reign of nearly seven years, died in the 106th year of the Hijera, A.D. 1582, and Bik. 1639, on the 3rd of March. His tomb was erected on the bank of the Beah.

Urjun succeeds him.

When Ram Dass died, his youngest son Urjun was seated on the throne of the Gooroos. He became a famous Gooroo and greatly celebrated; he completed the Adi-Grunth.

Hindoo merchants flocked to the Punjab in the time of Urjun, bringing all kinds of curiosities for sale, and many of the Zemindars became his followers. Urjun kept great state, and lived in

splendour unknown to his predecessors. He kept fine horses, and was clothed in costly raiments.

Before the time of Urjun, the Gooroos were clothed like fukeers, or beggars.

He lives at Umritsir, and places the Grunth there.

Towards the latter part of his reign he removed to Umritsir from Govindwal, and dwelt there. At Umritsir he constructed a large tank, and fixed on it as his place of residence; it was named *Hurmumder*, or God's house. The Grunth, or Holy Book, which had been begun and continued by his predecessors, was placed in the temple erected in the tank, and crowds frequented it for the purpose of bathing and hearing the Grunth read. The Chukkur Ram Dass was thus enlarged, and when the wealth of Urjun began to increase in horses, elephants, &c., his brothers began to envy him.

Builds Turuntara.

On this occasion, Urjun built another tank, at the distance of seven miles from Umritsir, naming it *Turuntara*, which means "cleansing water." Between Urjun and his brothers there was perpetual enmity.

Urjun remained long without issue, and on this account was much troubled and distressed in mind. He lamented his hard fate day and night. At last, the people advised him to go and consult Boodha, who was still alive, though a contemporary of Nanuk. It was at the suggestion and by the advice of this old man, that Urjun had constructed the tank at Umritsir. Urjun, therefore, resolved to visit Boodha, taking all his effects along with him. Boodha was then in his dotage, or almost an

Is childless.

Visits Boodha.

idiot, and seeing a crowd of men, elephants, camels, and carts coming towards him, enquired what they meant, and whither they were going? The people replied. "That is Gooroo Urjun." Boodha said, "What? Are the Gooroos running mad?" They answered, "No, Urjun is coming to see you, and requests the intercession of your prayers for a son." On hearing this, Boodha began to dance and clap his hands, reciting or singing the following lines:

"Beta hoga, beta ho,
Jiske jucsa hooa ne Ro;
Sub Bhayon ka ko sutaj
Ruhega wooh sub kee ilaj."*

When Urjun heard these words, he was delighted, and returned to his home. After a time Hur Govind was born. As a youth, he was full of wisdom, and eminently beautiful in appearance and form. At this time, Chundooshah was prime minister at Lahore, and there was enmity between him and Urjun, on the following account. Hur Govind born.

Chundooshah had a beautiful daughter, whom his father wished to bestow in marriage on his successor in office; this resolution he communicated to his friends, but they advised him to give her in marriage to Urjun's son, as he was a very comely youth. Chundooshah spurned the advice, and added "Though Urjun is a wealthy man and a Hindoo Gooroo, still he is a fukeer. I am like the Feud with Chundooshah.

* Meaning that there would be a son where none existed, and that all the Gooroos would exert themselves in procuring a remedy for Urjun's affliction.

upper story of a house; he is like the drain for receiving the water." Being pressed, however, on the subject, Chundooshah consented to the match, and the marriage-presents were sent to the house of Urjun. One of the bystanders related the speech of Chundooshah to the Gooroo, and the comparison he had drawn between them. On hearing this, Urjun was very angry, and said "That Hindoo is a fool compared with me, and I will not allow my son to marry his daughter." When the presents were brought, the Gooroo refused his consent to the proposed union, adding, "He is a nobleman, I am a fukeer; he must be mad in wishing his daughter to wed my son."

He refuses to marry his son to the daughter of Chundooshah.

Chundooshah entreated Urjun's forgiveness for the words he had used, and went himself to visit the Gooroo, taking with him nearly a lakh of rupees. On coming before Urjun, Chundooshah joined his hands and asked permission to address him; but the latter said it was useless, adding "Oh! Chundooshah, my words are engraved on stone, and cannot be washed out; I will never gainsay them; and were you to give the whole world as a dowry with your daughter, she shall never wed my son: this is fixed and irrevocable." On hearing these words, Chundooshah remained silent, but from that time meditated revenge against Urjun. "This man must have the blood of kings in his veins to refuse my offer," were Urjun's emphatic words on leaving the Gooroo.

About this time, the emperor Shahjehan wishing to visit Cashmere, had arrived at Lahore; and Chundooshah having obtained an audience, told the emperor, that a Hindoo fukeer had sprung up in the Punjab who assumed a state of royalty, and had crowds of people as his followers, who raised tumults and disturbances. Shahjehan expressed a wish to see Urjun, and a horseman was sent to fetch him.

The latter misrepresents the Gooroo to Shahjehan.

Urjun was brought before Shahjehan, who on seeing him exclaimed, "He has a fukeer's face; I will befriend him." He was then dismissed, but Chundooshah determined he should not depart, and resolved to murder him. Addressing the Gooroo, he said, "I will again bring you before the emperor tomorrow, when you must either defend your own cause, or be punished." On hearing these words, Urjun knew well that he would not escape with his life. When the night had passed and the sun rose in the heavens, Urjun requested leave to go to the ravee for the purpose of bathing, promising that he would afterwards return and do whatever was required of him. His request was granted. On reaching the river, the Gooroo plunged into it, sank and disappeared! It is related that Urjun's corpse was recovered from the water and burned by his disciples. There appears to be truth in this, as the tomb of Urjun exists near the gate of the musjid, or temple, within the city of Lahore. The tomb was elegantly built, with a dome covered with gold.

Resolves to murder Urjun.

The Gooroo drowns himself in the ravee.

Gooroo Urjun was drowned about the end of the reign of Shahjehan, in the year of the Hijera 1031, A.D. 1607, and Bik. 1664, after a reign of twenty-four years, nine months and a day.

Hur Govind succeeds him.

When the news of Urjun's death reached Hur Govind, he was filled with grief. When the time of mourning was over, he ascended the throne of the Gooroos.

From every quarter disciples flocked around Hur Govind, bringing money and other presents.

Keeps armed followers.

This Gooroo was a great warrior, and the first that took up arms. Before his time none of the Gooroos entertained armed followers, but Hur Govind made them buckle on the sword and prepare for war.

In the reign of Shahjehan, his son Dara Shiko governed the Punjab. He was a mild prince, and gave no trouble to religious sects, whatever their creed might be, and he was particularly friendly to Hindoo fukeers. Under his government, Hur Govind became a great man, and occasionally visited

Quarrels with the king.

Dara, at Lahore. It is related, that a servant or follower of Hur Govind purchased a beautiful horse for his master. Some of the king's attendants seized the horse and carried him to Lahore; but the animal becoming lame, he was given to the cazee, or judge, and from the latter was purchased by Hur Govind for the sum of 10,000 rupees; the price however was not paid to the cazee, and on the second day Hur Govind departed with the horse from Lahore and reached Umritsir.

'In return for the seizure of the horse, one of Hur Govind's servants carried off a white hawk belonging to the king. For these offences the king gave Mookhlus Khan orders to proceed with an army of 7,000 horse, to seize Hur Govind. On hearing of the approach of Mookhlus Khan, Hur Govind armed his followers to the number of 5,000 men, and prepared to meet him in battle. This appears to be the first time that the Sikhs assumed a really military character. In addition to his army, Hur Govind was possessed of a warlike spirit, and it will not therefore be surprising, that he defeated the royal troops; many of the latter were slain in the battle which ensued, and the rest fled with their leaders to Lahore.

An army sent against him.

The royal troops defeated.

'Though successful in this first struggle, Hur Govind had the sagacity to perceive, that the anger of the king would only be appeased by his own overthrow and death; and he therefore wisely resolved to avoid a second encounter by concealing himself for a time, which he did in the jungle of Battinda, in the province of Hissar, where the ground was dry from a scarcity of water. The place where Hur Govind lay concealed, is named Gooroo-ka-kote, or the abode of the Gooroo, and is distant about fifteen miles from Kudoor. While in this jungle, great crowds became his followers and disciples, and among the rest Boodha, a notorious thief and freebooter. This man stole two horses from the king's stables at Lahore, and brought them to Hur Govind. The act incensed

Hur Govind conceals himself.

The royal troops vanquished a second time.

the king still more against the Gooroo, and a large army was sent against him, under the command of Kunmer Beg and Lal Beg. They crossed the Sutlej in search of Hur Govind, but the want of water so distressed the royal troops that they were unable to fight; and being easily defeated by the Gooroo, they fled to Lahore, leaving their two commanders slain on the field of battle.

This second successful trial of his strength with the king's troops rendered Hur Govind more daring than ever, and he resolved to recross the Sutlej. He arrived at Kurtarpoor, in the Bist Jalindhur, which had been built by Urjun, and here he collected a large army of horse and foot.

A third battle with the king's troops.

One of Hur Govind's followers was a Pathan, named Paendee Khan, but he had quarrelled with the Gooroo and escaped to Delhi, and requested troops from the emperor, for the purpose of seizing Hur Govind. These were readily granted, and on reaching the Punjab a battle was fought between the king's troops under this Pathan, and the Sikhs led by Hur Govind.

The conflict was a desperate one, and great valour was displayed on both sides, for the Mussulmans have always evinced a deep-rooted hatred for the Sikhs. Victory at length decided in favour of Hur Govind, who performed prodigies of valour, slaying many of the Mussulmans with his own hand, and among the rest Paendee Khan.

Hur Govind defeats them.

On the death of their leader, the king's troops fled in confusion, great numbers being slain.

Knowing well that the king would now send a larger force against him, Hur Govind fled to the hills; on his way he spent some days at Ruheela, on the right bank of the Beas, and eventually reached the mountains. He took up his abode at Heerutpore, on the right bank of the Sutlej, five miles from Anunpore. Hur Govind remained there until the day of his death.

Hur Govind resides at Heerutpore, and dies there.

Hur Govind had three wives, by whom he had five sons; whose names were Goorooditteh, Teghbuhadur, Soorut Singh, Anerat, and Uttulrao. The eldest, Goorooditteh, died during the lifetime of his father, but left a son named Hurao. Hur Govind had a great affection for this boy, and appointed him his successor.

Hur Gvind leaves five sons.

Hurao, his grandson, appointed his successor.

The mother of Teghbuhadur was very much displeased at this act of injustice, as she considered it, and accused Hur Govind of acting unfairly. Hur Govind told her to have patience, and assured her that Teghbuhadur would yet sit on his throne. "I give you in charge," continued her husband, "my arms for his use, and when he comes of age deliver them to him." After this the Gooroo prayed, and departed this life in the year of the Hijera, 1063, A.D. 1639, and Bik. 1696. Hur Govind reigned thirty-one years, six months, and two days: his death took place on the 10th of March. His tomb is at Heerutpoor.

When Hur Govind died, his grandson ascended the throne of the Gooroos. He behaved in an insolent manner towards his uncle Teghbuhadur.

At this time the Emperor Aurungzebe was at war with his brother Dara. The latter came to Lahore, where he raised an army, and Hurao joined him with his troops; but on the defeat of the prince, and his flight to Mooltan, his allies the Sikhs returned to their homes, and Hurao went to Heeruteepoor. When Aurungzebe slew Dara and imprisoned his father, he ascended the throne of the Moguls, and reigned happily. Recollecting the aid which Hurao had given to Dara, he resolved to punish him, and despatched the following message to the Gooroo. "If you have the power of raising yourself and becoming king, it is necessary that you answer my challenge." Hurao, after meditating on these words, was convinced that he could not meet the emperor with any chance of success, and resolved to send his son back with the messenger to Delhi. To Ram Rao, his eldest son, he entrusted the following humble epistle in reply to the royal challenge: "I am a fukeer, and have no other employment save that of praying for your majesty. I send my son as the bearer of this, as I cannot go myself, being at present engaged with business of importance. I hope your majesty will forgive me, and treat my son kindly."

Hurao assists Dara.

Aurungzebe resolves to punish him.

Sends his son Ram Rao to Delhi.

When Ram Rao reached the imperial city, and appeared before the emperor as the bearer of his father's letter, Aurungzebe appeared pleased with its contents; and also with the ready answers given to all his questions by Ram Rao.

Is retained at court.

He therefore relented, observing, "There is no doubt of Hurao being a mere fukeer." Ram Rao was presented with a rich dress, and retained at court.

Shortly after this, in the year of the Hijera 1097, A.D. 1663, and Bik. 1720, after a reign of thirty-three years, six months, and fourteen days, Hurao died at Heerutpoor on the 9th of October. Death of Hurao.

On the death of Hurao, his youngest son, Hurkishen, succeeded him in the Goorooship. No sooner had this news reached Ram Rao at Delhi, than he was greatly exasperated, observing, "I am the eldest son and rightful heir: how is it that Hurkishen usurps my place?" He addressed the emperor on the subject, remarking, "I left my father's house in order to appease your anger. I am now your servant, and hope your majesty will issue an order for Hurkishen to appear before you, when I will sustain my claims in your presence." The emperor complied with his request, and issued a mandate for Hurkishen to repair to Delhi without delay. On receiving this order, the Gooroo was sore afraid, and exclaimed, "Unhappy man that I am, would to God that the small-pox might again afflict me, and cause my death!" After wandering to and fro, Hurkishen, at length, resolved to obey the order. When he reached Delhi, he alighted at the Serai, where the small-pox was then raging. The Gooroo was seized with the complaint, and died in a few days. His death took place on the Succeeded by Hurkishen. Is summoned to Delhi. Dies of small-pox.

14th of March, after a reign of two years, five months, and nine days. He was buried at Delhi, where his tomb was erected.

When Hurkishen was on his death-bed at Delhi, he was asked who should be his successor; and his reply was, "After me, Baba Bukala shall be Gooroo."

Bukala is the name of a village near Govindwal on the bank of the Beas; and when Hur Govind was on his way to the hills, he left several of his followers at that place, where they remained and flourished. Teghbuhadur's mother likewise lived there.

Disputes regarding a successor.

When Hurkishen's death was made known, and also his last words, all the Sodees of Bukala claimed the Goorooship! Teghbuhadur concealed himself, and never appeared in public. One of the followers of Hur Govind, named Mukhun Shah, resided at this time in Delhi; which he left, and arrived at Govindwal with presents for the Gooroo. All the Sodees collected around him, each claiming the presents! Mukhun Shah inquired, what Hurkishen had said regarding his successor. They replied, that he had appointed Baba Bukala. Mukhun Shah observed, "You do not understand his meaning: the ruler of Bukala is Teghbuhadur." He then carried his presents to the latter; but he, being a fukeer, would not receive them, answering, "Give them to some one else who is the king." Mukhun Shah, however, placed him on the throne of the Gooroos; and all the arms left with his mother by Hur Govind were delivered to her son.

Mukhun Shah decides the point.

Teghbuhadur, on observing this, said, "Take away these: do you forget that I am not Teghbuhadur the 'warrior of the sword,' but Deghbuhadur the 'knight of the cooking-pot?'* You must have mistaken me for some one else." This sally of wit, no doubt, operated in his favour, for he not only mounted the throne, but had speedily numerous followers, and become a greater Gooroo than his father Hur Govind. He quarrelled with the Sodees, and wanted to drive them out of Bukala, or murder them. At this juncture, Mukhun Shah again arrived from Delhi, and hearing the resolution of the Gooroo, he visited him and endeavoured to reason with him, and convince him of the danger sure to follow such an act. The Gooroo stated that the Sodees were all his enemies, and if he could not rid himself of them, it would be better that he should at once leave the place and accompany Mukhun Shah to Delhi. The latter agreed to his proposal, and they set out for that place.

Teghbuhadur becomes a great Gooroo.

Quarrels with the Sodees.

Goes to Delhi.

Ram Rao, the son of Hurao, was then at Delhi, and hearing of the arrival of his grand uncle Teghbuhadur, he informed the emperor of the circumstance, who ordered the Gooroo to be brought before him. Some of the courtiers who were favourable to Teghbuhadur, remarked, "He is only a fukeer: what need is there to send for him?" On hearing these words, Alumgeer forbade his being sent for. When Teghbuhadur heard this, he left Delhi and went with his family to Petna. After a

Goes to Petna.

* Tegh means sword, and Degh a cooking-pot.

time the Gooroo returned to Delhi; and no sooner had Ram Rao heard of his arrival, than he went to the emperor, and requested that Teghbuhadur should be summoned before him. The Gooroo was alarmed when he received the order, for he knew well that he would not escape Ram Rao; he therefore again left Delhi, and took refuge with the Rajah of Kuhloor, in the hill states. In this rajah's territory there was a place named "Debee Mukho," and Teghbuhadur purchased it for 500 rupees. On it he built the town of Mukhowal, and dwelt there. By his wife Goojuree, Teghbuhadur had a son named Govind Rao, who was now fourteen years of age. Ram Rao hearing of his uncle's escape to the hills, was greatly enraged, and again besought the emperor to send for him. A horseman was accordingly despatched for this purpose. Teghbuhadur guessed the import of his message, and the intention of Ram Rao of taking away his life; he complied, however, with the order. Helpless and broken-hearted, the Gooroo prepared to depart, first sending for his youthful son Gooroo Rao, whom he addressed, after embracing him, in these words, "My son, they have sent for me for the purpose of taking away my life, but though they kill me, do not lament my death; you will be my successor, and do not forget to avenge my blood." Having thus spoken he appointed Govind Rao his successor, and gave him the arms of his father Hur Govind. He then departed with the horseman towards Delhi. When he reached that

Escapes to the hills.

Builds Mukhowal.

Is summoned to Delhi.

His address to his son.

Departs for Delhi.

city, he was thrown into prison by order of Ram Rao. Some days afterwards, he was sent for to the emperor's presence; who had no intention, however, of injuring him. Ram Rao, who was present at the interview, and at whose solicitation, it had taken place, addressed Teghbuhadur thus, "Oh! Teghbuhadur, you did wrong in ascending the throne of the Gooroos: shew now some cause for your doing so, or abide by the consequences." Teghbuhadur remained silent for some time, but at length spoke as follows: "The king requires no explanation from fukeers, and I am only one to offer up my prayers for his majesty; besides this I have nothing else to say, but offer up my prayers in adversity." Ram Rao on hearing this was greatly enraged, and told Teghbuhadur, that unless he gave some explanation of his conduct, he should not be liberated. At length the Gooroo gave this answer, "Since you wish it, I will give the explanation required. I will put a written paper round my neck, which you cannot cut with a sword." Having said this, and written on a piece of paper, he tied it round his neck, and then requested the emperor to order some one to cut it! The blow was made, and the head of the Gooroo rolled on the floor! The paper was then read and contained these words:—

Required to defend himself.

Ingenious device.

Is slain.

"*Sir dya aur Sirr ne dya.*"*

* Literally, '*I* gave my head, but not my secret!' The word "Sir" signifying head, and with an additional r, a secret. The ingenuity of the remark is lost in the translation.

When the courtiers saw what occurred, they were astonished and confounded; the emperor himself was displeased, and dispersed the crowd. The corpse was interred, and the head given to Mukhun Shah, who kept it in his own house. This catastrophe happened in the year of the Hijera 1104, corresponding to that of the Christian era 1680, and in the 35th year of the reign of Alumgeer. Teghbuhadur reigned as Gooroo thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-one days.

His head given to Mukhun Shah.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF GOOROO GOVIND. HIS REFORMATION OF THE SIKHS.

WHEN Teghbuhadur's murder was made known to Govind Rao, he was very much afflicted. He summoned all his followers and addressed them thus: "You know, my friends, that my father has been murdered at Delhi. I am left alone, but as long as I live I will never cease to avenge his death; should I die in the attempt, it matters not. His head is now at Delhi: is there any one among you who will bring it to me?" One man arose, and promised he would bring the head of Teghbuhadur to his son. Having obtained the head from Mukhun Shah, the man proceeded with it to the Punjab. One day Mukhun Shah addressed the emperor in the following words, "Please your majesty, a follower of Teghbuhadur has carried his master's head to Govind Rao. What is to be done with the body?" The king replied, "Let it be burned." This was accordingly done, and the

GoorooGovind addresses his followers.

A tomb erected at Delhi, and at Mukhowal.

ashes being collected, a tomb was erected over them at Delhi, near that of Hurkeshesis.

When Teghbuhadur's head arrived at Mukhowal, Govind Rao shed tears over it, and having burned it, he erected a tomb over the ashes. After performing the funeral rites to the memory of his father, Govind Rao determined on reforming the religion and manners of the Sikhs.

One day Govind inquired of a Brahmin well versed in history and other branches of knowledge, what the meaning of the saying was, that "One arrow might become many, and one man might kill a hundred." The Brahmin replied, "In such cases the Gods are present." Govind asked how he could secure their aid. The Brahmin replied, that besides Benares, he could obtain this knowledge from no other place. On hearing this, Govind selected a careful, steady man, whom he despatched to Kashi (Benares.) When he reached that place, he made enquiries regarding the Brahmins who could give the knowledge his master wanted; and after obtaining the proper person, he brought him with him to Govind Rao. Govind promised the Brahmin much wealth and riches for the knowledge he required, and the latter agreed to the terms, which were ratified by the burning of ghee.* Govind built a house for the Brahmin, near Mukhowal, and everything required by him was placed in it. These preparations occupied a

Govind procures a Brahmin from Benares.

* Butter made from the milk of the buffalo.

twelvemonth, at the end of which time, the Brahmin brought Govind Rao to see the preparations. A light was burned night and day in the house, and the Brahmin began to read munters (prayers.) When another year had passed, Debee, the goddess with eight feet and eight hands, was present! Then the Brahmin said, "I have now fulfilled my engagement, and you must supply my place so long as Debee is here. Do not be alarmed or afraid at what you may see." Govind having armed himself took the Brahmin's place, and waited for the appearance of Debee. He continued to read the munters and make vows. At length Debee appeared. The goddess had a frightful aspect, and Govind on seeing her became so alarmed and frightened, that he fainted, but soon recovering, he put himself in an attitude for defence, though he was unable to utter a word. Debee seized his sword by the handle, and left her mark on it; after this she disappeared. Govind at length recovered his senses and came forth. He related what had occurred to the Brahmin, and shewed him the mark; the latter said it was a good sign or token, adding, "From this time forth both you and your descendants will become conquerors with the sword, and make many proselytes. You will be governor of the country, and your punth, or tribe, will be celebrated among the Hindoos. Now, put out your fire and begin your preaching, for your vow is complete." Govind asked what doctrine he should inculcate. The Brahmin replied, "Now

Govind takes the Brahmin's place.

The goddess appears, and seizes the Gooroo's sword.

your fire is out, cast your head here." Govind replied, "If I do so, what shall I gain?" The Brahmin said, "Your son's head will answer equally well." Now Govind had four sons, named Zoojar Singh, Ajeet Singh, Futteh Singh, and Zorawur Singh. Govind on hearing the Brahmin's words sent a messenger to his mother Goojuree, requesting that she would send one of his sons, in order that he might sacrifice him as an offering to the gods. Goojuree replied, "My son Govind is mad: am I a fool to murder his child? I will never consent to this." She immediately concealed herself and the four boys in the fort of Mukhowal. Govind hearing that his mother disobeyed his orders, swore that if she did not comply he would murder the four children before her eyes; so that he should have no descendants. Finding that Goojuree was obstinate, and that there was no hope of obtaining one of his sons, he addressed his followers with a view of inducing some one to offer himself as a sacrifice. His appeal was for a long time fruitless, and Govind was so exasperated that he cursed them all.

One of his followers sacrificed.

At length his entreaties and imprecations were effectual, and five and twenty men offered their heads. Govind cut off one, and threw it into the fire; and after loading the Brahmin with presents he dismissed him.

Collects the Sikhs.

Govind then collected his followers and began to preach. He sent his disciples in every direction, and gave them orders to bring to him the followers

of Nanuk, and all the succeeding Gooroos to the time of Teghbuhadur who were scattered in the Punjab. They were to search every town and village, so as to leave none behind. In a short time vast crowds from all parts of the Punjab flocked around Govind, and when they were assembled, he stood up in the midst of them and addressed the people: "My father Teghbuhadur ordered me to avenge his blood, and with this view I have collected a large army, but money is required for its maintenance. Now, my friends, every one of you must prepare to obey my orders and contribute money. His address.

"In the next place you must be all of one mind, and adopt the same manners, and have the same religious belief. There must be no castes among you, as exist among the Hindoos. You must be all equal, and no man greater than another. You must place no belief in the shasters, or religious books of the Hindoos. You must abstain from visiting any of the places of religious worship, such as the Ganges, Buddrenath, and pay no respect to any of their gods: pay respect to Gooroo Nanuk, and to none else. The four castes of the Hindoos are to be dissolved from henceforth." Destroys castes.

A reformation of this character was eminently calculated to please the lower castes of the Hindoos, who would thus be at once raised to a level with the Brahmins, whom they had been taught from their earliest infancy to respect as their superiors in every thing; moreover, the meanness of their origin

would be concealed: mixing with the Chutrees, or "warrior caste," they would now fight side by side with men who formerly despised them. These were powerful inducements; and Govind had no doubt learned from the Brahmin that these were the true means of gaining proselytes from the lower orders of the Hindoos. On the other hand, it was naturally to be expected, that the Brahmins and Chutrees would refuse such a proposal, and prefer retaining the broad distinction of caste, to mixing with men whom they had been taught to view with contempt.

The Brahmins and Chutrees desert him.

When the assembled crowd heard the words of Govind, many of the Brahmins and Chutrees accordingly rose, and said they would not obey the orders of Nanuk or the Gooroos. They were, therefore, allowed to depart to their homes; a few only of the Chutree and Veisya castes became proselytes, and the great body of Govind's followers consisted of the lowest, or Soodurs. The number, however, amounted to twenty thousand.

Next day, Govind collected his followers, and ordered them to bring him a large earthern vessel filled with water.

His wife brought him five kinds of sweets, viz.:— treacle, red sugar, white sugar, candied sugar, and honey; which were put into the water. Govind was pleased with the present, and said the gift was acceptable as coming from a woman of whom all are born. "My followers, the Khalsa," added he, "will, therefore, be numerous and sweet-tongued."

Having mixed the sherbet, he selected ten men from among his followers, and performed the pahooldee.* He first mixed the sherbet with his sword, then blew or breathed on the latter. He put a little of the sherbet five times on the head, and sprinkled it on the eyes. Each of the ten men then drank five handfulls of the sherbet, and called out in a loud voice, "*Wah Gooroo jee ke Fulteh.*" The oath was then administered, and the men agreed to renounce the following tenets:— The pahooldee.

I. The Brahminical String.

II. *Kurmuas,* or a belief in the transmigration of souls.

III. *Keelnas,* or distinction of castes.

IV. *Kelnas,* or division into trades.

The first of these was the most important point to be gained. Unless this was agreed to, Govind knew that his followers would soon be reclaimed by the Brahmins.

The second, or *Kurmuas,* is a doctrine in which Nanuk had faith; but Govind wished to remove it from the minds of his followers, as a belief in it would tend to make them less sanguinary than he considered desirable.

The third, or *Keelnas,* enjoins a strict alliance with one's family and friends of the same caste. By renouncing this, the Sikhs threw off all distinction of caste, and left home and relations.

The *Kelnas* enjoined the division of the people

* An oath or agreement.

into trades. This, as militating against a strictly military life, was inconsistent with Govind's plan.

Having agreed to renounce all these, it was agreed by the Sikhs that any infringement of them should be punished by a heavy fine.

Govind next bestowed on five of his followers the name of Khalsa; and the names of these individuals, as well as their former occupations, have been preserved. One was named Dhya Singh, a Chutree and native of Lahore. The second was called Sabit Singh, by trade a barber. The third, Himmut Singh, was of the Bearer caste, from Juggernath. The fourth, Dhurrum Singh, was a Ját, from Hustempoor; and the fifth, Mokhum Singh, was a cloth-dyer, and a native of the holy city of Dwarakh, built, as the Hindoos believe, in the space of a night for the reception of Sree Keishen when about to leave Muttra!

The other five Govind named Moogutee: namely, Dewan Singh, Ram Singh, Shah Singh, Tebul Singh, and Futteh Singh.

Having thus selected and named his ten disciples, Govind taught them the tenets of his reformed religion, and thus addressed them, "As I gave the pahooldee to you, so do you bestow it on all the rest of my followers."

Govind Singh. From this time Govind tied up his hair in a knot,* and taking the oath himself, changed his name to Singh; and he was ever afterwards called

* Named Kes by the Sikhs.

Govind Singh. Having taken the pahooldee, he exclaimed:—

"Khalsa Gooroo se aur Gooroo Khalsa se hue. Ya ek doosra ka tobeedar hue."*

After this, the ten disciples of Govind administered the pahooldee to the whole crowd; which was thus, in one day, converted into Singhs or Sikhs. Singhs.

It has been surmised that Govind Singh, while a youth with his father at Patna, where he had gone from Delhi, had become acquainted with the religious tenets of the Hindoos, and that his sending for the Brahmin to Benares, was with the view of making a more powerful impression on his followers. But not only was Govind Singh well versed in the religion of the Hindoos, but likewise in that of Mahommed. He had studied attentively the writings regarding both religions; and he knew well the difficulties he had to contend with in obtaining proselytes from either. Nothing short of destroying the authority of the Brahmins and the system of caste, could enable him to make permanent converts from the Hindoos; and though Nanuk had not interfered with the religious or social institutions of the Hindoo or Moslem, recommending the pure worship of the Deity to both, Govind Singh determined to abide no longer by the peaceful doctrines of his great predecessor, but to use arms for purposes of conversion. Yet with great tact he appeals to his followers for their aid in avenging Govind Singh well versed in Hindoo and Mahomedan literature.

* "The Khalsa arose from the Gooroo, and Gooroo from the Khalsa; they are the mutual protectors of each other."

the murder of his father, concealing for a time the object he had in view, being no less than a thorough reform in the religion and manners of the Sikhs. The ceremony of pahooldee is represented differently by different historians. Some describe the ceremony as consisting in the feet being washed, and the water employed for this purpose being drunk; but in none of the works of the Mussulman authors is the slightest ground for such a practice to be found; they all agree that the ceremony described was the one employed by Govind Singh.

Since the time of this great reformer, several additional usages have been added to the customs of the Sikhs. It will be seen in the sequel, that to a disguise in blue cloth, Govind was indebted for his escape; and that colour is therefore esteemed by Ukalees, who wear turbans of blue.

Next to the worship of the Deity, ablution was recommended by Nanuk, and the Sikhs were accustomed to wash the body daily; the head, arms, and thighs were the parts to which water was applied, and the ablution was, therefore, named "punjnanish." The thighs were covered, but the legs below the knee were left bare. These peculiarities were observed by the followers of Nanuk, and still more rigidly enforced by Govind, who with great judgment adhered to the leading principles of Nanuk, though making many additions of his own; but what distinguishes Govind Singh from the first Gooroo, is the warlike character which he conferred on the Sikhs.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WARLIKE EXPLOITS OF GOVIND SINGH.

After initiating his followers into the pahooldee, Govind determined on a religious warfare; and in order to excite them to action, he threw the greater part of his wealth into the Sutlej.

Govind's contempt for wealth.

One day, a Sikh arrived from Scinde, bringing with him a couple of handsome bracelets, worth 50,000 rupees, or £5,000 sterling, for the Gooroo, and requested permission to fasten them on his wrists. Govind Singh, at first, refused; but the man continuing to urge his request, he at length complied. The Gooroo then went immediately to the river, and threw one of the bracelets into the water; the Sikh inquired what had become of it; and Govind said it had fallen into the river. On hearing this, the man procured a diver, and offered him 500 rupees if he would bring it up; the diver agreed, provided the place could be pointed out. On referring to Govind on this point, the Gooroo took off the other bracelet and threw it into the

water, adding, "That is the place." The Sikh was astonished and gave up the search.

Costly presents brought to him.

On another occasion, a Sikh arrived from the Dekhan, bringing with him the following articles for the Gooroo, namely :—a sword, an elephant, a white hawk, a rich tent with gilded poles, and an Arab horse,

The hill rajahs hearing of these costly presents, came to visit Govind Singh for the purpose of seeing them.

Govind Singh ordered the tent to be pitched, and the howdah placed on the elephant, while the horse was saddled and bridled.

The hill Rajahs covet them.

On seeing these, the rajahs wished much to possess them.

The elephant and tent were coveted by Bheem Chund, the Rajah of Phulore; while Hurree Chund, the Rajah of Hindour, wished for the horse, sword, and hawk. The latter rajah seized the sword, but Govind remarked, "My follower has brought these things for me, and you can easily have them on my terms; which are that I first sit in the howdah with the hawk in my hand, the sword girded on my side, and the horse led before me. I shall afterwards sit in the tent."

Displeased with Govind's terms.

Govind in proposing these terms knew well, that the rajahs would either forego the articles altogether, or be annoyed at the conditions; in either case, he was prepared to act, and added, "If you want the tent, elephant, horse, sword and hawk, you are welcome to them after I have thus used them."

As he had anticipated, the rajahs began to abuse him, and threatened to punish him for his insolence in not delivering to them the articles without any terms, saying that in imposing such, he had insulted them.

The followers of Govind were already prepared to avenge the insult offered to their leader, and speedily flew to their arms. The noise and tumult were increasing every moment, and there is little doubt that the lives of the rajahs would have been forfeited by their indiscreet behaviour, but a word from the Gooroo was sufficient to allay the uproar. They were already crying "Gooroo-jee-ke-futteh." Unfortunately for themselves, the rajahs had come with only a few followers, not knowing the strength of Govind, or despising them as a rabble. The Sikhs raise a tumult.

At length the patience of the Sikhs was exhausted, and they were rushing on the rajahs, when Govind waved his hand and ordered them to desist. They obeyed the order, though very unwillingly; and as they could not use their arms, they vented their abuse with unsparing tongues; a means of revenge still preserved among the Sikhs, particularly the Ukalees, the only Sikhs who at the present day, adhere strictly to the tenets of Govind. Quelled by Govind.

By those who have witnessed a band of drunken Ukalees, almost in a state of nudity, brandishing their naked swords, and at the same time bawling out in abusive and obscene language, the scene now enacted by Govind's followers may be easily conceived. Abuse of the Ukalees.

As the crowd continued noisy and tumultuous, loading the rajahs with every term of abuse which a newly organised gang of religious fanatics could invent, Govind Singh addressed his followers, and said, " That though he was pleased to see their zeal in defending his honour, and avenging any insult offered to him, still the use of such language was not proper, and contrary to his wishes; nay, that in future they were not to behave in such a disorderly manner, since in mixing up the sherbet, at the pahooldee, he had prophesied—'That the Singhs would be a sweet-tongued nation.' "

Govind's address.

On restoring peace, the rajahs speedily removed to a distance, and next day took their departure altogether.

The Rajahs depart.

On reaching his own country, Bheem Chund threatened to extirpate Govind Singh and the whole race of the Sikhs.

Govind Singh was soon made acquainted with his hostile intentions, and not being yet prepared to oppose him, he prudently resolved to take shelter with Mundunee Purgas, to whom he immediately despatched a letter, expressing a wish to reside in his country, and in case of Mundunee Purgas going to war with the Rajah of Hindour, he would assist him with 50,000 fighting men.

Govind writes to Mundunee Purgas.

Purgas returned a polite answer, inviting the Gooroo to visit him, and promising him aid and protection against his enemies.

Favourable answer.

On receiving this favourable reply, Govind Singh left Mukhowal and resided at a ghaut on the Sutlej, where he built the strong fort of Ghurpunote.

The hill rajahs lost no time in carrying their threats against Govind into execution, and for this purpose collected a large army.

They soon reached the fort and dug covered ways around it. At this time Govind Singh had five pathans in his service, each holding a command of 100 horsemen. These men resolved to desert him and join the enemy, in order to participate in the spoils of the fort. They therefore wrote to the rajahs, offering the services of themselves and their followers, provided they should share in the pillage of the fort. The rajahs readily agreed to their terms, and next day the five pathans, whose names were Kali Khan, Bheem Khan, Nujabut Khan, Dhyad Khan, and Choor Khan, went to Gooroo Govind and requested their discharge. The Gooroo was astonished at the demand, and that at a time when he most wanted their services; he therefore replied, "Is this the reward I receive for all my kindness to you?—and is it now when I require your services that you wish to leave me?"

Five Pathans resolve to desert Govind.

It may be here stated, that though Govind had as previously noticed, 20,000 followers, who became in one day Sikhs or Singhs, yet among such a crowd of low-caste men, there were comparatively few who knew anything of the art of war. Under such circumstances, he was obliged to engage the services of the Mussulmans, who were then, as now, the best soldiers in Hindostan, particularly as cavalry. It was not difficult to secure

for this purpose great numbers of pathans, who were in general faithful servants. Govind on the present occasion was well aware of their value, and he offered them any sum of money, if they would remain with him; they, however, refused to listen to any terms, and were, in consequence, discharged. When Govind's followers saw the 500 horsemen leaving the fort, they became alarmed, as they knew well that in the mounted branch they had no chance with the horsemen, even of the hill rajahs.

Govind saw that the desertion of the pathans had produced a bad effect, and he lost no time in addressing his people, advising them to be at ease so far as regarded the pathans, since they were a vile ungrateful set of rascals, whose absence was rather to be wished for, as their presence could be of no use to him.

After quitting the fort, the pathans repented of their act, and wished to return; but they were pursued and cut to pieces, and only a few of their numbers reached the rajahs.

An attack made on the fort.

Next day, a fierce attack was made on the fort, which was defended by Govind Singh with great bravery; vast numbers were killed on both sides, and among the rest Hurree Chund, the Rajah of Hindour. His followers, on seeing their leader fall, fled in great disorder, and others soon followed their example. Govind Singh pursued t he fugitives, and slaughtered great numbers.

The Rajahs defeated.

After this decisive victory, the Gooroo proceeded

to Mukhowal and sat on his father's throne. This place is among the lower hills near the Sutlej.

When Govind Singh had established himself at Mukhowal, he set to work in erecting fortifications. He built four new forts, viz.—Anundghur, Futtehghur, Soghur, and Mooghulghur. In these he placed all his military stores.

Builds four forts.

In the course of two years Govind subdued the country around him, extending his conquests as far as Roopur, on the left bank of the Sutlej.

Extends his conquests.

He took possession of the whole tract of country thus obtained; and the hill Rajahs being unable to oppose Govind, they became alarmed lest he should expel them from their dominions, and seize their country.

They therefore addressed a letter to the emperor, complaining of the encroachments of the Gooroo, and requesting aid in order that they might oppose his further aggressions.

The rajahs request the Emperor's aid, which is granted.

On receiving this letter, the emperor ordered Zuburdust Khan, the governor of Lahore, and Shums Khan, the ruler of Sirhind, to afford aid to the hill rajahs against Govind Singh, and keep them in possession of their kingdoms.

On receiving this order, the two ameers collected large armies, and advanced towards the hills. The rajahs having united their forces with those of the ameers, the whole proceeded towards Mukhowal, which they surrounded.

Mukhowal surrounded.

For the space of seven months the war was carried on outside the forts, with various success. At

the end of this time, Govind Singh retreated to his strongest fort, and shut the gates on the besiegers. After a short time, however, his provisions were exhausted, and the followers of the Gooroo determined to desert him. At this same time, the mother of Govind Singh, who was in the fort with his two sons, Futteh Singh and Zorawur Singh, wrote to the rajahs requesting permission to leave the fort with her two grandsons; and the request being granted, Goojuree departed with the two boys during the night. Several of the Sikhs accompanied her, and she fled to Sirhind. When the Gooroo heard of his mother's flight, he was very angry, exclaiming, "She has left me, but how can she escape?—my two boys will be killed." When Goojuree reached Sirhind, she concealed herself and her grandsons in the house of a Hindoo. But the collector of Sirhind, named Kulgus Rao, on hearing the intelligence that Govind Singh's mother and sons were in the city, ordered the two boys to be buried alive under the city wall! Goojuree died of grief at the sad fate of her grandsons.* Govind Singh being now reduced to the last extremity, his followers proposed leaving him. For this he abused them as cowards, and throwing open the gates, ordered them to make one more

Govind's mother leaves the fort with his two sons.

She reaches Sirhind, where Govind's two sons are murdered, and Goojuree dies of grief.

His followers desert him.

* The cruel murder of Futteh Singh and Zorawur Singh, the sons of Gooroo Govind, has never been forgotten by the Sikhs, and no Sikh passes Sirhind without taking away a brick and throwing it into the Sutlej; and the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh is said to have carried away two. This is done to mark their detestation of the cruel and cold-blooded murder of the two sons of their great Gooroo and reformer.

effort and try the fortune of war. "If we die," added the warlike Gooroo, "I shall be esteemed a warrior, and your memory will be revered; if we conquer, then the country will be ours. To die cowards is base, to die warriors is glorious." No one listened to this address, and at length, they wrote a letter to Govind, stating that they would obey him no longer. After this they left the fort.

CHAPTER V.

THE ADVENTURES OF GOVIND SINGH AFTER LEAVING MUKHOWAL.

THE Sikhs on leaving Mukhowal, were surrounded by the enemy, and the greater part of them killed; those that escaped fled to the Punjab.

Forty of his followers remain with Govind.

With Govind Singh, only forty men remained; and enraged as he then was, he ordered them to depart likewise; but they refused, and replied, that "they would gain nothing by going away, and they therefore resolved to stand by their Gooroo, and lose their heads in his defence." They implored him at the same time, to forgive the Sikhs who had abandoned him, and tear up the letter which they had addressed to him. Admiring their fidelity, Govind, at length, yielded to their request, and destroyed the letter in their presence.

Escapes to Chum Kowah.

Taking his forty followers with him, Govind Singh made his escape to the fort of Chum Kowah, below Roopur, and there concealed himself and shut the gates. He was speedily pursued by his enemies, who surrounded the fort. Govind was in

great want and distress. He prepared to die, and addressed his sons and followers to this effect:—

His address.

"Excepting death, there is no help for us. You must have brave hearts, and meet death with fortitude. Your death will not go unrevenged if I live." Among his followers, there was a man who closely resembled Govind. To him the Gooroo gave his arms, desiring him to escape over the wall, and open the gates to the rest in the morning. They were then to fall on the enemy and slay as many as possible. These orders were strictly obeyed, and the gallant band, including two sons of Govind, slew great numbers of the enemy, but were themselves killed, with the exception of five men. The enemy believed that Govind had likewise fallen, when they saw the Sikh dressed in his armour fall; so that the Gooroo was enabled to make his escape, and was joined by his five followers. They all left Chum Kowah without knowing where they should proceed; at some distance from the fort, Govind met Nunee Khan and Ghunee Khan, two Mussulmans, who had formerly received some kindness at the hands of Govind, and though now in the service of the hostile rajahs, the men were kind to the Gooroo, and expressed their willingness to be of service to him.

His followers sally out of the fort, and are all slain.

Govind escapes.

Arriving at the enemy's outposts, the Gooroo and his party were challenged by the sentry, who called for a light to examine them, but they speedily despatched the man, continued their flight, and arrived at Belalpore.

Reaches Belalpore.

It would seem that considerable attention had been paid by Teghbuhadur to the education of his son, and not only was the latter well versed in every thing connected with Hindoo literature, but likewise with the Persian language, and the works of Mussulman writers. His preceptor in the latter had been a man named Kazee Meer Mahomed, who, at this juncture, was residing at Belalpore, and who, meeting Govind and his followers, immediately recognised the former. Meer Mahomed was pleased at again seeing his former pupil, and informed the Gooroo, that the royal army was then encamped at the place, and that without disguising himself he would most assuredly be captured. At the suggestion of his friend the Kazee, Govind changed his garments, and both he and his followers clothed themselves in blue and untied their hair.* When Govind had thus disguised himself and his followers, and taken a friendly farewell of the Kazee, they proceeded toward Mucheewarrah. They were nearly surprised by an ameer, but their dress and long hair deceived the latter into the belief that they were Mussulmans.

Meets his former teacher, who aids him.

He and his followers disguise themselves.

Reaches Mucheewarrah.

On reaching Mucheewarrah, Govind went to the house of a Chuttree, named Goolaba; near this stood a mosque, the Moolah of which recognised

* The circumstance of undoing the hair, which was religiously kept tied in a knot by the Sikhs, was the most likely method to prevent their being recognised. They never have recourse to this measure, unless in cases of most imminent danger. Everything connected with Govind Singh during his disastrous flight, is religiously treasured in the memory of the Sikhs.

the Gooroo, and began to abuse him as a kaffir and an unbeliever. To prevent discovery, Goolab offered money to the Mussulman to preserve silence, but the deeprooted hatred of the Mussulmans to the Sikhs was manifested in the present instance. As the Moolah had thus an opportunity of insulting the head and chief of the Sikhs, he was resolved to make his victim commit the greatest infringement possible of the religious tenets of the Sikhs.

Insulted by a Moolah.

It is well known with what reverence the Hindoos treat the cow, and this is shared in an equal or even greater degree by the Sikhs; and the Moolah resolved that Govind should eat cow's flesh.

He accordingly ordered one to be slaughtered in his presence, and had some of the flesh cooked; it was then placed before the Gooroo, and the Moolah swore if he did not partake of it, he would kill him; adding, "I shall now have my revenge in either case, since your compliance will convince people that your pretensions to be a Hindoo or Sikh are false, and you will forfeit all claim to the title of a Gooroo."

Who causes him to eat cow's flesh.

It was a trying situation for Govind, who after turning over the meat with his iron knife, cut it into pieces and ate it.*

* This occurrence is a memorable one among the Sikhs, and none of them will ever eat his victuals without first turning them over with a knife, in imitation of the great Gooroo. There is another version of Govind's adventure at Mucheewarrah, which is believed to be the true one. It is said that Govind Singh remained there in a dyud's house, and gave him an axe for his kindness. This article remained in the dyud's family for many

On the following morning Govind departed from this hateful place, and arrived at Kunneejah, a village about three miles from Loodianah. There lived at this place a follower of Govind, and from him the Gooroo begged a horse; this was, however, refused, and Govind upbraided him as an ungrateful coward.

Is joined by numerous followers.

Proceeding from thence, he reached the village of Jalpoorah, about ten miles distant from Rhaeekote. Here he stayed eight days, and assuming his proper attire, he went into the jungles. In this part of the country, there were numerous followers of Teghbuhadur and Hur Govind; who no sooner heard of Govind's arrival, than they flocked around him to pay their respects and congratulate him on his safety, as the report of his death had, no doubt, reached them, for he was supposed to have been slain at Chumkawah.

Reaches Kote Kapoorah.

After some days, Govind reached Kote Kapoorah, and remained there a short time, to recruit his health and strength; both of which had suffered during his disastrous retreat, attended, as this had been, by great privation and fatigue.

years, and was at length given to the Rajah of Putteala, who, in return, paid to Dyud Mahomed, and Allee Shah, the sum of 500 rupees, as well as bestowed on them and their descendants, a grant of land in perpetuity. It is also mentioned that Govind bestowed on the person furnishing him with the blue cloth at Belalpore, his dagger (khubar), which was obtained some years ago by Hurree Singh, Nulwa, and presented by him to Lord Combermere. This gallant Sikh afterwards fell, while gallantly defending the fort of Jumrood in 1837.

From this place he journeyed to Moogutsir, and here all the Sikhs who had deserted him again collected. The number of Govind's followers now amounted to twelve thousand men, including horse and foot soldiers. Arrives at Moogutsir.

The news of Govind's escape, and of his being again at the head of a large army, quickly reached Sirhind, and the sirdar of that place lost no time in collecting troops, with which he pursued the Gooroo. The Mussulmans amounted to seven thousand fighting men, while Govind's force was much larger in number, though inferior in discipline. The Sikhs were, however, determined to conquer or die. Is pursued by the Governor of Sirhind.

A battle took place near Moogutsir, in which Govind was victorious. Great numbers were slaughtered on both sides; and the Gooroo harangued and complimented his soldiers on their bravery; encouraging them, at the same time, to fresh exertions in expelling the enemy. The place which Govind had judiciously chosen as his abode, was in the arid desert, where no water was procurable, except from a few tanks which he held in his possession. The Mussulmans, unable to obtain any water, fled and were pursued by the Sikhs; numbers of them perished. The latter is defeated.

Govind's victory was complete, and the news of it spread far and wide, so that great crowds resorted to his standard. His army increased daily; and peace being now restored, he remained at Moogutsir.

Ordered by Aurungzebe to the Dekhan.

In the meantime the battles fought by Govind Singh in the hills and plains were well known to the Emperor Alumgeer,* who was then in the Dekhan. The news of Govind's late successes disturbed the Emperor, and he issued a mandate for the Gooroo to repair to the Dekhan, and give an account of his doings.

* Aurungzebe.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEATH AND CHARACTER OF GOVIND SINGH.

Receives the order with great respect.

When the messenger reached Govind and delivered the "royal firman," the Gooroo kissed it and placed it on his head; he treated the bearer of it with great distinction, and provided a house for him. After reading the "firman," Govind addressed the messenger as follows:—"I am the Emperor's dependent; in no way do I disobey him, and I have only one request to make, namely: that he will allow me to make out a statement of my numerous wrongs for his perusal, and if, after this, it be the royal wish, I am ready to accompany you." It has been already mentioned, that Govind had a knowledge of the Persian language, and he was besides a poet. He, therefore, composed a poem in that language, occupying fourteen hundred stanzas. In this, he gave a full and glowing account of the persecutions which he had suffered, not only in his own person, but those of his father and grandfather.

Govind writes a poem, detailing his grievances.

This poem was finished in a few days, and the substance of it may be shortly recapitulated. He stated that the Emperor Akhbar had given his ancestor, Ram Dass, a certain grant of land, and that at that time, no cause of quarrel existed between the Gooroo and the Emperor, who, on every occasion, befriended the poor fukeers. His predecessor Nanuk believed in one God, and never swerved from that belief. At length, a Hindoo named Chandooshah, quarrelled with Gooroo Urjun, and the royal army afterwards attacked Hur Govind, and there were several battles fought between them. The Gooroo was obliged to flee to the hills; but even there he was persecuted. The poem goes on:—

"At the instigation of Ram Rao, my father, Teghbuhadur, was sent for by your majesty; and, through the deceit of Ram Rao, was cruelly murdered in your presence. He had gone to Patna for the purpose of worship; and, on his return to Delhi, was again oppressed, and obliged to take shelter with a hill rajah. There he remained some time unmolested; but at the instigation of his cruel and unrelentiug brother, he was once more ordered to proceed to Delhi. From long suffering, oppression, and tyranny, my father had become tired of life, and longed for death; which he, at length, obtained by an ingenious contrivance, and his head was severed from his body in your royal presence.

"I was then a mere youth, and nearly died of

grief on hearing of the cruel murder of my father. I was alone and friendless in the world; but I was resolved to avenge his death, and establish the Sikhs on a firmer footing. I reformed their religion, and obtained numerous followers. The rajahs who had been at feud with my father, made war against me, and I vanquished them.

"The governors of Lahore and Sirhind were sent by your orders to their assistance, and I was surrounded in my fort at Mukhowal. I was reduced to great extremities; and, to add to my distress, my mother, taking with her my two sons, escaped from the fort to Sirhind: the collector of that place cruelly buried my two boys alive, under the wall of the city, contrary to all the laws of God and man.

"This unheard-of tyranny drove me to despair; and, helpless as I now was, my followers deserted me, leaving me with only forty men, and my two sons. These brave men sallied out in the morning from the fort, killed great numbers, and were at length slaughtered, with the exception of five. I escaped through the wall, and we fled. We passed the enemy's camp, and were pursued like a flock of goats before the tiger. I wandered from village to village, nowhere finding a resting-place, until, at length, I reached the desert and concealed myself. The news of my safety and arrival were no sooner spread, than all my scattered followers joined me, and I had soon a large army at my disposal.

"The governor of Sirhind again pursued me, and I met him in battle, where his troops were beaten and fled, as there was no water in the desert which I inhabited.

"Seeing that I have now lost all my family and relations, as well as my dearest friends, who have been torn from me, I am tired of the world, and willing to quit it. Besides God, I have now no supporter. I fear no human being, and if I die I know that my death will be avenged.

"What I have told your majesty is the truth, and if you still require my presence, I will obey the order after you have read this letter."

Despatches his letter to the emperor, along with five Sikhs.

Having finished the account of his wrongs and sufferings, Govind Singh sealed the letter and dismissed the messenger with it, loading him with presents; he also sent along with him five Sikhs.

When Alumgeer presented the letter, he saw that he had been deceived in the accounts given him of the Gooroo, and was convinced that Govind Singh was no other than he represented himself; namely, a harmless fukeer.

The emperor sent for the five Sikhs and conversed with them. He was pleased with their appearance and address, and bestowing dresses of honour on them, he dismissed them with a letter and valuable presents for Govind Singh. The letter was to the effect, that if the Gooroo would come to the Dekhan, the emperor would receive him kindly.

The five Sikhs, on their return to Govind, were loud in their praise of the emperor. After this Govind Singh dwelt in peace; but, at length, resolved to visit Alumgeer. He accordingly set out, but on the road heard of the death of the emperor. The latter return to Govind, who departs for the Dekhan.

When Govind Singh reached the Dekhan, he found that Buhadoor Shah, who had made war on his brother Azine Shah and conquered him, was emperor.

When Buhadoor Shah was made acquainted with all the sufferings of the Gooroo, and the tyranny exercised towards him by the governors of Lahore and Sirhind, he bestowed presents on Govind, consisting of rich tents, elephants, horses, and the like, and appointed him to the command of five thousand horsemen, and Govind thus remained in the emperor's service.

It is said, that one day a Pathan brought a horse for sale to Govind; the price of the animal was 7,000 rupees, which the Gooroo promised to pay, but delayed doing so from day to day. At length, the Pathan seeing that smooth words had no effect, began to use intemperate and abusive language to Govind, and, drawing his sword, attacked the latter; Govind, however, defended himself, and wresting the Pathan's sword out of his hand, he severed his head from his body. Kills a Pathan.

Govind speedily repented of this act, and sending for the son of the murdered Pathan, he bestowed money and presents on him.

Becomes tired of life.

Having lost all his family, and being separated from his people, the Gooroo became tired of life.

One day he addressed the young Pathan thus, "I am the murderer of your father, and if you do not avenge his death, you are a rascal and coward." The lad, however, respected Govind, and resolved to make his escape.

Is stabbed.

It happened that Govind and the young Pathan were one day playing chess together, and the Gooroo began taunting his adversary as usual, until at length the lad grew enraged, and drawing a dagger, plunged it into Govind Singh.

The wound was a small one, but a portion of Govind's entrails escaped through it. People ran in all directions in pursuit of the murderer, for the purpose of killing him; but this Govind strictly forbade, and added, "the man was only avenging an injury; it was by my own advice that he committed the deed which has removed his father's blood from my hands. Permit him, therefore, to go where he pleases."

Mode of his death.

The wound was sewed up, and to all appearance, healing, but Govind was determined to die. He called for a strong bow, which he bent with all his force, and in doing so the stitches of his wound gave way, his bowels again protruded, and he died almost immediately.

This event occurred in the year of the Hijera 1132, Sawun 1765, and A.D. 1708, at the city of Nadshur, in the reign of Buhadoor Shah.

The tomb of Gooroo Govind Singh is half a mile

from the city. The Sikhs call it Aphullanuggur, and crowds of them frequent it, and are fed by the Nawab of Hydrabad.

Gooroo Govind Singh reigned thirty years and eleven months.

His character.

If we consider the work which Govind accomplished, both in reforming his religion and instituting a new code of laws for his followers; his personal bravery under all circumstances; his persevering endurance amidst difficulties, which would have disheartened others, and overwhelmed them in inextricable distress; and, lastly, his final victory over his powerful enemies by the very men who had previously forsaken him, we need not be surprised that the Sikhs venerate his memory. He was, undoubtedly, a great man; and enjoying as he did the knowledge of both Mussulman and Hindoo religions, he was well fitted for instituting a new system of his own, which would secure to him all the lower castes of the Hindoos. He knew well that so long as the Hindoos adhered to caste, and respected the Brahminical string, it would be in vain to expect proselytes; and he, therefore, destroyed this powerful bond of union among the Hindoos, and thus brought the high caste Brahmin on a level with the Soodur. He next proceeded to destroy the distinctive form of the Chuttree caste, which contained the fighting-men among the Hindoos, and this he did by raising the two lowest castes to a level with the Chuttree as soldiers.

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A capacity for war was necessary, not only for the purpose of amalgamating, as it were, the four castes of the Hindoos, but for the maintenance of the numerous followers of Govind; and to stimulate his people to aggression, he threw away all his private wealth, so that being divested of any property or the means of living, the only alternative left for the Sikhs was the forcible acquisition of spoil and territory.

Having created a military race, the next question which suggested itself to Govind, was the art of overcoming a superior force. Besieged in his fort of Mukhowal, it was impossible for him to contend, with any prospect of success, against enemies, supported as they were by the disciplined troops of the Mussulmans. His only chance was a [redacted] attack on his besiegers, and this he at [redacted] commended; but his followers, intimidated, o[redacted] p[redacted]bably reduced in bodily strength by want of supplies, were disheartened and unable to fight. When in the jungles and in a position chosen by himself, they shewed no want of courage, and their victory was rendered complete, by the foresight of their leader in seizing upon the only supplies of water afforded by a few tanks. But now their hearts failed them. Seeing that he was not yet prepared to compete with Alumgeer, or wrest from his grasp the territories lying on both sides of the Sutlej, as well as the different Doabs, Govind humbled himself, and even accepted employment from his powerful rival. Worn out by previous

misfortune, alone in the world, as he feelingly describes himself, and foreseeing, no doubt, that his followers might again desert him in time of need, or when adverse fortune should render him helpless, he resolved to desist from his warlike career, and leave to his successors the task of completing the conquests which he had begun; satisfied that he had secured materials for such a purpose in the reformation of the people.

The outline of Govind's exploits, is derived from Mussulman historians; but the Gooroo himself relates many particulars not contained in their works. It appears, from his own account, that he was born at Patna, when his father went there from Delhi to avoid the continued resentment of Ram Rao. When deserted by his followers, Govind said, "The man who does this (deserts his Gooroo) shall have neither child nor offspring. His aged parents shall die in grief and sorrow, and he shall perish like a dog, and be thrown into Hell to lament." The two sons of Govind left with him after the flight of his mother with his two younger ones, appear to have been brave men; Ajeet Singh, especially. It is recorded of Ajeet, that when an insulting message was brought to his father, from the Mussulman camp, "The youth seized his cimeter, and addressing the messenger, exclaimed, 'If you utter another word, I will humble your pride; I will smite your head from your body, and cut you to pieces, for daring to speak such language before our chief.' The blood of the envoy

boiled with rage, and he returned with this answer to his master." The Sikh writers, in relating the fall of this brave man at Chunkowah, thus describe his death.—"Some fought, some fled, Ajeet Singh covered with glory departed to Swarga (Heaven.) Indra, first of the gods, (Devatus) advanced with the celestial host to meet him; he conducted him to Devapur, the city of the gods, and seated him on a celestial throne; having remained there a short time, he proceeded to the region of the sun." Thus "Ajeet Singh departed in glory, and his fame extends over three worlds, for the fame of the warrior lives for ever."—*Malcolm.*

Many instances are given of the personal bravery of Govind Singh during the siege of Mukhowal. He killed with his own hand Nahar Khan, and wounded Kivajeh Muhammud, leaders of the Emperor's troops. The Gooroo describes his war with Bheem Chund in the true Ossianic style, "The warriors advanced like a stream of fire consuming the forest."—*Malcolm.*

Some relate that Govind Singh died in the Punjab; others that he went to Patna, and ended his days there; but the true account appears to be that he died, as already related, in the Dekhan. Aware that since the death of his brave sons there was none among his adherents capable of following up his views and conquests, he fixed upon a Byragee fukeer, named Bunda, who became his successor, though not as Gooroo. That title died with Govind Singh, the tenth and last.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HISTORY OF THE BYRAGEE BUNDA.

Before the death of Govind, it is related that some of his followers told him one day, that there was a fukeer, of the Byragee caste, who was not only a great warrior, but likewise a magician. They added, "whoever attempts to sit in his presence without his permission, he causes instantly to fall down." The curiosity of Govind was raised at hearing this account of the Byragee, and he determined on paying him a visit, and conversing with him.

Next day he proceeded with a number of Sikhs to Bunda's hut, and entering it, seated himself without asking the Byragee's leave. Bunda observed this unwarrantable freedom, and was very wroth. He began to use his art in the hope of unseating Govind. He in vain read munter after munter; the Gooroo kept his seat firmly. When Bunda observed this, he rose and prostrated himself before Govind Singh, entreating that the latter would

Govind visits Bunda, and converts him.

explain to him the cause of his honoring his poor abode with a visit, asking at the same time his name. Govind replied, "You know who I am" The Byragee rejoined, "How should I know?" Govind merely added, "Think over this matter." Then Bunda enquired if he were Gooroo Govind Singh. The latter responded, "Yes." Bunda again asked the purport of his visit; and Govind answered, "To make you a convert." Bunda immediately consented, received the Pahooldee, and became a Sikh. Govind Singh then took Bunda along with him. Some days after this occurrence, Govind sent for Bunda, and having seated him, delivered to him his dying words (wusseequt,) "You are appointed my successor," exclaimed the Gooroo; "You must be a warrior, and avenge the blood of my father and grandfather, as well as that of my sons. Do not fear death." Govind then took five arrows from his quiver, and delivering them to Bunda, added, "Do not approach a woman, and keep these five arrows: so long as you obey this order, no misfortune will happen to you; if you forget my orders, or disobey them, then you shall die." Bunda received the arrows, and promised to obey faithfully the injunctions of the Gooroo.

Appoints him his successor.

His dying injunctions to Bunda.

When Govind Singh died, and his followers were left without a leader, they began to disperse themselves. Many resuming their former occupation, became cultivators of the earth, others learned trades.

This occurred in the Dekhan, and the Sikhs

of the Punjab hearing of Govind's injunctions to Bunda, resolved to bring him to the Punjab.

Bunda resolves to subdue the the Punjab.

On the death of Buhadoor Shah, the second son of Alumgeer, and the decline of the Mogul Empire, the whole of Hindostan was in an unsettled state. In the latter end of the reign of Furokshere, about the year of the Hijera 1130, Bunda wishing to possess the country of the Punjab, resorted thither, in company with the Sikhs, who had gone to fetch him.

When he reached Mulu Kotilah, Bunda found there his grandson, named Atma Ram, a Byragee fukeer, whom he wished to accompany him; but Atma refused, adding, "I am a wandering fukeer, and not used to bloodshed and fighting. You will never be a king, and will lose your life." Bunda took no notice of this warning, and next day departed with his followers for Sirhind, which, as the scene of the murder of Govind's two sons, he was determined to destroy. On reaching the [illegible] place Bunda set fire to the city, and murdered all the inhabitants, neither age nor sex was spared; every one was slaughtered indiscriminately, to avenge the murder of Govind's sons; and the city was razed to the ground.*

Crosses the Sutlej.

Bunda then crossed the Sutlej and employed fire and sword wherever he went. No place escaped, and none could oppose his progress; he pillaged every where. The inhabitants of the

* "The carcases of the dead were even dug up and exposed to be devoured by beasts of prey."—*Malcolm.*

Punjab fled at his approach in the utmost dismay.

Approaches Wittala.

He next crossed the Beas, and marched to the city of Wittala. On hearing of the approach of this murderous incendiary, the inhabitants were divided in opinion as to what measures were to be adopted; one party proposed to abandon the place with their families, while the other urged a strenuous defence.

At this time Synd Muhommed Fuzil Gilanee, escaping along with some fukeers, fled from Wittala and reached the village of Sultanpore, in the Bist Jalindhur. The leader of the opposite party was Sheikh Oolhud, who was also a Synd and had lately arrived at Wittala. This man encouraged the people to fight and prepare for a siege.

Sheikh Oolhud advised the defence of the city.

Bunda with his army arrived at the Uchur Tank, two miles from the city, and encamped near the temple or musjid.

The inhabitants, by the advice of Sheikh Oolhud, shut the gates and prepared to defend the walls, while the Sheikh himself went out to meet Bunda. On reaching the road he made a bold stand, but, was quickly overpowered and slain. The corpse of this brave man was carried to Wuzeerabad, about two miles from Kotilah, and there interred: his descendants remain at that place to the present day.

Is slain.

Bunda burns and pillages Wittala.

Bunda broke open the gates and entered the city, to which he set fire, beginning with the house of Cazee Abdoollah. The wife of the latter had hid all the treasure in a terrace before the house.

The college, or mundruss, of Fyzul shared the same fate. Bunda, after burning and pillaging Wittala, murdered all the inhabitants, and then took his departure.

The city of Lahore was next burned and pillaged, and the whole of the inhabitants put to the sword. Lahore shares the same fate.

The Byragee then crossed the Ravee, and went towards Jummoo.

When the Emperor Furokshere heard of the desolation committed by Bunda, he sent Ubdoolsummud, as Governor of the Punjab, to stop the ravages of this fanatic. Ubdoolsummud sent against Bunda. On reaching Lahore, the Governor lost no time in pursuing Bunda, and a great battle was fought between them at the foot of the hills, and Bunda was defeated. Bunda is defeated. He shut himself up in a hill-fort, which was besieged for a long time. At length provisions becoming scarce, his followers began to desert him, and concealed themselves in the jungles and villages, where many of them were killed. His followers at length were reduced to a very small number, and the Mussulmans observing this, attacked them and slew nearly the whole. Bunda and a few others were taken prisoners. And is taken prisoner. He was taken before Ubdoolsummud, who resolved to send him to Delhi. The Mussulman soldiers maintained that Bunda was a "magician," and would make his escape on the road. One of the Moguls rose and said, "Tie us together on the same elephant; and if he attempt to escape, I

will plunge this dagger into his body." Bunda was accordingly tied to this man, and in this manner conveyed to Delhi, where he was tortured to death.

He is sent to Delhi.

His character. Seldom in the annals of the most barbarous nations do we find traces of such savage slaughter and devastation, as marked the progress of this Byragee. He not only amply fulfilled the order of Govind in destroying Sirhind and murdering all its inhabitants, thereby avenging the cruel death of Govind's sons; but he took full revenge on the Mussulman inhabitants of the Punjab.

The name of Bunda is never mentioned, even at the present day, without hearty curses being bestowed upon his memory by every Mussulman, nor is he held in respect by the Sikhs.

Bunda was a fanatic, and so resolved was he to fulfil the orders of Govind Singh, that he became the terror of the whole Punjab, as well as the districts on this side the Sutlej.

The discrimination of Govind Singh in selecting such a man for carrying out his revenge, is conspicuous. Had the Gooroo himself not been weighed down by years and affliction, nor oppressed with cares incident to his position; in short, had he been a younger man; there is little doubt that the punishment he would have inflicted on the Mussulmans, though differing in kind, would have been equally ample with that bestowed by Bunda.

It is difficult to conceive the existence of such a monster as the latter; but these fukeers when urged

by powerful motives, and under certain vows, will stop at no crime, whatever its enormity may be. They are great impostors; and with an external semblance of piety, they conceal within their breasts the blackest and most malignant spirit.

The scanty records regarding Bunda give little information as to any good properties he may have possessed; but he is allowed, on all hands, to have been a man of undoubted valour and bravery; and the coolness with which he met his death may be here quoted from Malcolm's "Sketch." "Bunda was at length produced, his son being seated in his lap. His father was ordered to cut his throat; which he did, without uttering a word. Being then brought nearer the magistrate's tribunal, the latter ordered his flesh to be torn off with red-hot pincers, and it was in those moments he expired; his black soul taking its flight by one of those wounds, towards the regions for which it was so well fitted." These are, of course, the words of a Mussulman, rejoicing at the end of a brave, but cruel man, who had wreaked his vengeance in such a fearful manner on the Moslems. His cruel death.

Bunda, though following the dying commands of Gooroo Govind, was himself inclined to make several changes in the manners of the Sikhs, and, among others, to substitute for the war cry of Govind, *"Wah! wah! Gooree jee ke futteh, futteh dhurm! futteh dhursun!"*—(Success to piety, success to the sect.) Inclined to make some innovations.

The dread in which Bunda was held by his fol-

lowers, induced many of them to obey him contrary to their inclinations and wishes. The Ukalees, however, the true and uncompromising followers of Govind, resisted all the endeavours of Bunda to make any change in the tenets and precepts of their favourite Gooroo. For this opposition to his wishes, many of them paid the forfeit of their lives; but death is a matter of little consideration with the "immortals," as the name "Ukalee" implies.

"On the death of Bunda, all his innovations were forgotten, and all the institutions of Govind restored," Malcolm continues; "but the blue dress, instead of being as at first worn by all, appears from that date to have been the particular right of the Acalis; whose valour in its defence well merited the exclusive privilege of wearing this original uniform of a true Sikh."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE SIKHS, AFTER THE DEATH OF BUNDA.

After Bunda's death at Delhi, and while Ubd-ool Summud was governor of Lahore, the disturbance and tumult caused by the Sikhs having subsided, the remnants of the latter were obliged to conceal themselves in the jungles, since strict orders were issued to kill every one bearing the name of Sikh, and rewards offered for their heads. In order to distinguish the Sikhs from the other inhabitants of the Punjab, all Mussulmans and Hindoos were strictly enjoined to cut off their hair and beards; and any person wearing the latter appendage was immediately slain. Such vigorous measures spread consternation among the Sikhs. Many of them fled to the mountainous districts of the Punjab, while others were obliged to forego the outward worship of their religion, and shave their beards.

Strict orders to kill all the Sikhs found in the Punjab.

The cruel career of Bunda and his followers, had naturally exasperated the Mussulmans to the

The activity of Ubdool Summud in exterminating the Sikhs.

highest degree; and they resolved to exterminate the whole nation. The well-known activity of Ubd-ool Summud rendered the harsh measures adopted for this purpose highly efficacious; and the Sikhs were completely dispersed, and nearly annihilated.

Dies at Lahore, and is succeeded by his son Zukereea Khan.

In the time of Mohummud Shah, the grandson of Buhadour Shah, Ubd-ool Summud died at Lahore, and was succeeded, as governor of the Punjab, by his son, Zukereea Khan. He was unlike his father; and the government of the country, under his care,

The oppression of the Zemindars, and revolt of the ryots.

became extremely lax; the Zemindars of the Punjab threw off their allegiance to the Mussulmāns, refused to pay the revenues, and oppressed the ryots, and ill-treated them. The latter, who were for the most part Jats, became in their turn disgusted, and joined the Sikhs. At this time there were several of the latter who had complied strictly with Bunda's orders, and were named in consequence

Bunda Sikhs.

"Bunda Sikhs." After their leader's death, these people lived in the Baree Doab, between the Beas and Ravee, in the Manja jungles.

The Sikhs resort to Umritsir every six months.

Every six months, crowds of the Sikhs resorted to the Holy Tank at Umritsir, and there held council among themselves; they afterwards dispersed, and returned to the jungles. Many of the Zemindars in the Manja tract of country were related to the Sikhs, and concealed the latter when

Effectually protected by the Zemindars.

pursued by the Mussulmans; and in every village of this jungly tract, there were two or three Sikh horsemen quartered, and supported by the Zemin-

dars, unless when they chose to provide for themselves by robbery and pillage. Thus protected, their apprehension became impracticable.

On Nadir Shah's return from Hindostan, he passed through the Punjab, which was then overrun with jungle, the abode of plundering Sikhs collected from every part of the hills and plains. Nadir Shah inquired of the governor, if there were any troublesome characters in the Punjab; and received for reply, that vast crowds of disorderly Sikh fukeers visited the tank at Umritsir every six months. Nadir Shah asked where their places of abode were; and the governor replied that "their homes were their saddles," The conqueror smiled, and said "they ought to be destroyed, and their country seized."

Nadir Shah's remark regarding them.

After the death of Khan Buhadur, Ahmed Shah invaded the Punjab; the Zemindars revolted, and the Sikhs began to flourish. When Ahmed Shah returned to Cabul, about 40,000 or 50,000 Sikhs collected and began to pillage Lahore, and settled in several places around it, where they erected forts and strongholds. On Ahmed Shah's return to the Punjab, the Sikhs dispersed, and again concealed themselves in the jungles.

The Sikhs pillage Lahore.

About this time, several of the Sikhs, such as Jupa Singh, Ramghureea, and others, were in the service of Adeena Beg Khan; and when Ahmed Shah fought with the emperor, and returned to Cabul, the Sikhs appeared on the bank of the Ravee, and slew numbers of Ahmed Shah's fol-

Attack the followers of Ahmed Shah on the Ravee.

lowers. The Shah was alarmed at this daring attack on the part of the Sikhs; and leaving Juhan Khan as governor of Lahore, he proceeded to Sealkote. The Sikhs collected in great numbers around Lahore, and ravaged the country. Juhan Khan came out against them, but according to their usual practice, they betook themselves to flight. Juhan Khan, on this occasion, remarked, that "except their running away, the Sikhs had no pretension to the name of soldiers." Three hundred Sikh horsemen separated themselves from the rest, and stood ready to engage the Pathans. When the latter were within a short distance of them, the Sikhs fired a volley; every bullet took effect, and great numbers of the Pathans fell, and the rest fled. Taking courage from this unexpected success, the Sikhs pursued and kept up their fire. The horse of Juhan Khan was wounded and fell, and the Sikhs setting up a loud cry of "Wah! wah! Gooroo jee ke Futteh," rushed forward to kill the Khan, but he escaped on foot. Many of the Pathans were slain; and this is the first decided victory on record gained by the Sikhs over the Affghans.

Juhan Khan at first disperses them; they rally and defeat him, killing numbers of the Pathans.

It is related that, at this time, there was a fukeer at Sealkote named Etubar Shah, who, when Juhan Khan was preparing to attack the Sikhs, was sitting in his hut. Juhan Khan alighted, and requested the fukeer to pray for his success. Etubar Shah, raising his head, cried out "Run away! run away! the wolf is coming." On hearing these words,

Anecdote of the fukeer Etubar Shah and Juhan Khan.

Juhan Khan was angry, and ordered the fukeer's hut to be burned to the ground. The defeat of the Khan was, of course, attributed to this act. After this signal victory, the Sikhs became more daring and insolent, laying waste the surrounding country. Every sirdar appropriated a portion to himself, and named it after his native village, such as Ramghureea, Alloowalya; others from their habits, as Bhunjeea.*

Timoor Shah unable to oppose the Sikhs

On the death of Ahmed Shah Douranee, his son Timoor Shah succeeded to the Musnud. Being unable to manage his Omrahs, or contend with them, as he was then at war with the King of Bokhara and the Zemindars of Scinde, it was out of his power to settle the affairs of the Punjab, or dispute the claims of the Sikhs to the country. Each sirdar, therefore, kept his own followers, and took possession of his own district, taking under his protection those Zemindars who revolted from Timoor Shah.

Extent of the Sikh possessions.

The country of the Sikhs thus extended from Saharunpore on the east, to the Attock on the west; Mooltan and Scinde were the boundaries on the south, and Kote Kangra, Jummoo, and Bhember on the north. Each independent Sirdar kept possession of his own territory, nor encroached on that of his neighbour. In some instances, pergunnahs, or districts, were divided between two, and each received half the revenue of the whole.

Amicable division of land.

* Extract of bhung, an intoxicating drug obtained from the Cannabis Indica.

The Missuls.

The Sikhs thus became a friendly nation, divided into what were called *Missuls*.

The sirdars quarrel with each other.

This state of things could not, however, last long; and at length the different sirdars began to quarrel among themselves for an extension of territory. The hostilities consequent on such quarrels, consisted in carrying off cattle and other property, and the ryots themselves were often killed in the struggles which ensued between two neighbouring sirdars.

All remain in peace and harmony at Umritsir.

But though they quarrelled among themselves, all was peace and friendship when they met at the holy tank of Umritsir. There each independant sirdar had his fort or dwelling-house, with a bazaar attached, for supplying his followers and retainers with food and the other necessaries of life.

When thus collected at Umritsir, no mark of strife or discord was allowed; all was harmony and peace, while sitting and listening to the Gooroo expounding the Grunth in the holy temple; for the beautifying of which, each sirdar contributed liberally, according to his means.

The number of independent sirdars reduced.

When these sirdars or chiefs began first to portion out the Punjab amongst them, they were very numerous; but after repeated contests, the country became the property of a few of the most powerful, who maintained their own independence, and gave their aid in defence of the whole against any foreign aggressor. The sirdar at the head of each Missul was paramount in peace and war, though his dependents reserved to themselves the option of pro-

Independent power of the sirdars.

longing or curtailing their services according to circumstances.

The territory of the Punjab at this time extended as far as the Jumnah, and even beyond that river; and one of the Missuls,—and the principal, as bearing the standards of the Sikhs, hence named the Nishanwala* Missul,—included the country about Umballa in its possessions. The Sikh territory extended beyond the Jumnah.

In giving a short outline of these Missuls, however, we shall confine our remarks to those across the Sutlej, since the Missuls on this side the river have long ago merged into the protected Sikh's states, and the details of them more properly belong to a history of the British power in India, than to one devoted to the Sikhs of the Punjab.

* Nishan, a mark, standard, or colour.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HISTORY OF THE BHUNGEE MISSUL.

Jussa Singh.

THE first Sirdar of this Missul was Jussa Singh, a Jat and native of the village of Punjwar, eight miles from Umritsir. He became a Sikh and a follower of Bunda; on the death of the latter, and when the Sikhs were dispersed and scattered over the Punjab, Jussa Singh converted three Jats; who were his own relations. One of these was named Bheem Singh, another Mulla Singh, and the third Juggut Singh. This Juggut Singh was a great smoker of bhung, and hence named Bhungee, and the latter term was applied to his Missul. When joined by his three converts, Jussa became a robber. On his death, Bheem Singh succeeded him as the head of the Missul. After the invasion of Nadir Shah, Bheem Singh, assisted by Mulla Singh and Juggut Singh, collected a number of followers; but though strong in numbers, he had no portion of country, and maintained himself and his adherents by acts of robbery.

Bheem Singh, Mulla Singh, and Juggut Singh.

Among the followers of Bheem Singh, there was a man named Hurree Singh, a native of the Punjab. He was of a daring spirit, and on the death of Bheem Singh, succeeded to the head of the Missul. Hurree Singh.

Hurree Singh speedily increased the number of his followers; and on the death of Mulla Singh and Juggut Singh, their places were filled by Ghunda Singh. Ghunda Singh.

Hurree Singh made war on Ahmed Shah, and having conquered Khwajah Oobeid, the governor of Lahore, he seized his artillery and other property. Among the guns captured on this occasion, there was a large one constructed by Juhan Khan, which bears the name of the captor to this day, being the well-known *Bhungee top.** The Bhungee top.

A man named Goorbuksh Singh, commonly known as Orawala, who had been Missuldar to Bheem Singh, had a grandson named Goojur Singh, who with another Jat named Lena Singh were ameers in the army. These two, after Goorbuksh Singh's death, joined Hurree Singh in his endeavour to conquer the Punjab; and each seized a portion of country, named after them, Goojerawala and Kalawala, which give titles to sirdars at the present day. Goojur Singh and Lena Singh join the Missul.

Hurree Singh went against Jummoo, and made war on the Malwa and Manja Sikhs, abiding be-

* We are not quite certain, that this was the large gun captured at Feerozshuhur on the night of the 21st December, 1845, by Sir H. Hardinge at the head of Her Majestys 80th foot, 1st European light infantry; we rather think, this large gun is still at Lahore.

tween the rivers Jumnah, Sutlej, Beas, and Ravee.

Hurree Singh killed.

Hurree Singh was killed, and Jhunda Singh succeeded him as head of the Missul: he lived in peace and quiet.

Lahore besieged by Goojur Singh and Lena Singh.

When Ahmed Shah bestowed the governorship of Lahore on Kahulee Mul, the Bhungee Missul went against that place. Goojur Singh and Lena Singh were sent a-head, and reached the city. They shut up the governor, and were joined by Sobah Singh, a nephew of Jye Singh, and after pillaging all outside the walls, the siege of Lahore was continued.

Kahulee Mul defended Lahore for several months, and shut up all the gates of the city except two, he also guarded all the passes. Being at length in great straits, he made demands on the city and robbed the shroffs. When he saw no chance of relief, he left Lahore with all his followers and all they could carry away; and on the second day after his departure, the Sikhs entered and pillaged the city. The booty was equally divided, and each sirdar left his lieutenant.

Kahulee Mul escapes from Lahore, which is pillaged by the Sikhs.

Jhunda Singh besieges Sealkote and takes possession of Mooltan.

After this Jhunda Singh went to Sealkote and besieged it in the year Bik. 1834, corresponding to A. D. 1777. He had at that time a large army and determined on taking Mooltan, whither Jye Singh preceded him for the sake of plunder. On his march towards Mooltan many sirdars and Sikhs joined Jhunda Singh. The Governor fled and the country was taken possession of. Jhunda Singh and Lena Singh divided Mooltan between them,

and appointed Dewan Singh, Killadar. He remained a long time in possession of Mooltan, until driven out of it by Timoor Shah, who gave Mooltan in charge to Jojoh Khan, Pathan Sudozye.

Driven out of it by Timoor Shah.

When Jhunda Singh was returning from the conquest of Mooltan, he took Jhungrealah, and subdued the Beloochee tribes, often pillaging their country. After this he went to Umritsir, and began building a brick fort, which was named the Bhungee fort.

Builds the Bhungee fort, at Umritsir.

Previous to this, Hurree had begun a bazaar at Umritsir, but had not finished it. After this, Jhunda Singh made war on Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, and Churruth Singh. It is said that the latter was killed by the bursting of his gun; and Jhunda Singh by his own soldiers, at the instigation of Jye Singh. Gunda Singh succeeded his uncle Jhunda Singh, and completed the Bhungee fort, at Umritsir. Gunda Singh employed himself in enlarging the city of Umritsir, and for this purpose collected great numbers of workmen.

Makes war on Jye Singh. Jussa Singh, and Churruth Singh killed.

Gunda Singh enlarges Umritsir.

Gunda Singh next proceeded to Pathan Kote, on the following account. A man named Naud Singh, a friend of Jhunda Singh, had left this place to the latter. This Naud Singh had a daughter, and his widow bestowed the latter and Pathan Kote on Tara Singh Ghuneeya, brother to Hukeekut Singh. When Gunda Singh heard of this transaction, he was enraged; and collecting an army, he proceeded to the place, taking the road through Wittala, or Battala. The Ramghureea Missul

Advances against Pathan Kote.

joined him. They halted at Deena Nuggur. The Ghuneeya Missul, under Goorbuksh Singh, the son of Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, joined Tara Singh, also Ummur Singh and Hukeekut Singh, with others of the Ghuneeya.

The two armies met, and fought for several days, without any decisive result. Gunda Singh, at length, became sick and died. His son Desa Singh being a boy, his nephew Churruth Singh succeeded him. The fight continued daily. One day Churruth Singh was killed, and the Bhungee force was broken up, leaving the victory in the hands of the Ghuneeya Missul. After this defeat, Desa Singh was chosen head of the Bhungee Missul, and his prime minister was Goojur Singh. He arrived at Umritsir, and Pathan Kote remained in the hands of Tara Singh and his son, until the latter was seized by the Maharajah Runjeet Singh.

Dies, and the Ghuneeya obtain the victory.

Desa Singh appointed sirdar.

Desa Singh was succeeded by his son Goolab Singh, who remained at Umritsir, and enlarged the city. While this Goolab Singh was a boy, his cousin Kurrum Singh Dooloo, governed for him. On Goolab Singh attaining the years of maturity, however, he was dismissed. Goolab Singh had constant wars with Maha Singh, the father of Runjeet Singh, and son of Churruth Singh.

Succeeded by Goolab Singh.

When Runjeet Singh took possession of Lahore, Goolab Singh assembled the whole Bhungee Missul and was joined by Nizamut Deen, Kussoorea. Their united force amounted to 50,000 or 60,000 men, and skirmishes took place between the two armies.

Makes war on Runjeet Singh.

At length, Goolab Singh became sick, and returning to Umritsir died there. Nizamut Deen returned to Kussoor; and Jussa Singh, on account of his enmity to Suda Koonwur, the mother-in-law of Runjeet Singh, went to his own country. Dies at Umritsir.

The Bhungee Missul from this time declined. One of Goolab Singh's sowars named Sookha, and whose son was named Goordut Singh, with several followers, took up their abode at Majeethea. When the Maharajah seized Umritsir, and reduced it under his power, Goordut Singh and his mother went to Jodh Singh, Ramghureea, and there remained in a state of great poverty. Bhungee Missul declines.

Goojur Singh, after the death of Gunda Singh, became a great man and acquired much territory in the Manja country. On the banks of the Chenab, he possessed the city of Goorura and the fort of Islamghur, where the property of Ruhmut Khan and Hushmut Khan fell to his possession; he also held the villages of Moonawur and Dowlutnuggur; while his hill territories extended as far as Bhember. On the Jelum he extended his conquests as far as Kala-ka-Serai; and Sirdar Churruth Singh, the grandfather of Runjeet Singh, gave his daughter, named Rajkoonwur, to the son of Goojur Singh in marriage. Goojur Singh extends his conquests.

When Churruth Singh was killed by the bursting of his gun, and his son Maha Singh succeeded him, there were enmity and peace alternately between Maha Singh and Goojur Singh. At Dies, and is succeeded by Saheb Singh.

length the latter died, and was succeeded by his son Saheb Singh, who married Rajkoonwur, the sister of Maha Singh; but this alliance did not prevent constant quarrels between the two. At one time, Saheb Singh was victorious; at another time, Maha Singh. A battle took place between these two sirdars at the village of Sadra, when it was besieged by Maha Singh. On this occasion, Raj Koonwur the wife of Saheb Singh, went to see her brother Maha Singh, and endeavoured to make peace between them. Maha Singh becoming sick returned to Goojurawala, where he died.

Raj Koonwur visits her brother Maha Singh, who dies.

When the body of Maha Singh was about to be burned, the soldiers of Saheb Singh went for the purpose of carrying it off; but Kadet Khan Khidmutgar, with Meeah, commandant of artillery, Ghuonsee Khan, and others, met them on the road, and defeated Saheb Singh's troops, who fled, leaving the body of Maha Singh in the hands of his trusty servants, who burned it with all due honors.

An attempt made to seize the body of Maha Singh, but fails.

At length, Runjeet Singh destroyed the Bhungee Missul, after capturing their strongholds of Lahore, Umritsir, Sealkote, Churniote, and Jhungdeal, and taking possession of all the country on both sides of the Chenab. Goojarah Wala and Jellalpore were wrested from Saheb Singh. He received a village in Jagheer, where he spent the rest of his days. His son Goolab Singh had also a

Runjeet seizes the Missul.

few villages conferred on him. Leaving no son, there was no head of the Bhungee Missul, which thus merged into the hands of Runjeet Singh, the Maharajah of the Punjab, in the year Bik. 1863, corresponding to the year of the Christian era 1806.

CHAPTER X.

THE HISTORY OF THE FYZOOLAPOOREA AND RAMGHUREEA MISSULS.

Kapoor Singh.

THE first sirdar of the Fyzoolapoorea Missul was Kapoor Singh of the Jat tribe, and a native of the village of Fyzoolapoor, near Umritsir. He joined the Sikhs under Bunda. He was a brave man, and appointed a sirdar. He took, like the rest, to robbing, and had no land of his own. His valour and judgment soon obtained for him the title of Nuwab, and he assumed the name of Nuwab Kapoor Singh. He lived in the time of Khan Buhadour, Governor of Lahore, and died in the reign of Ahmed Shah Douranee. It is related of him, that he fought with the Shah and fell in action. He had three followers, all brave men, namely: Khooshyal Singh, Lena Singh, and Seetul Singh, who were brothers by the same mother. These men were contemporaries of Hurree Singh Bhungee Wala, but independent of him, and kept up a force of their own with distinct settlements. Their pos-

sessions consisted of:—1st. the village of Fyzoolapoor and the neighbouring ones. They had also a bazaar, or kotra, at Umritsir, called after them. Possessions of the Missul.

2nd. They possessed themselves of the Bist Jalindhur; and the zemindars of this district, such as Rao Ibrahim and others, paid them tribute and placed themselves under their protection. They also claimed lands on the left bank of the Sutlej. They joined Hurree Singh and other Missuldars in making war on Ahmed Shah. There was another Khooshyal Singh belonging to this Missul, who from being short-sighted was distinguished by the surname of *Metoo*. This man left a widow and kirdar, but no children. The other Khooshyal Singh (Lama) had two sons, one named Boodh Singh, and the other, Soodh Singh, who succeeded their father as heads of the Fyzoolapoorea Missul. They were constantly at war with the Alloowalya Sudar. When Soodh Singh died, he left a daughter by his wife, the daughter of Lena Singh, Bhungee. After his death, Boodh Singh was firmly established as the sirdar of the Missul. The Maharajah made war on him in 1811, and having defeated Boodh Singh, the latter fled across the Sutlej, where he died. His son Ummur Singh lived there after him. When the Fyzoolapoorea Zillah came into the posession of Runjeet Singh, he gave the charge of it to Mooroodeen, the brother of Azeezoodeen, and who remained four years at Jalindhur. Khooshyal Singh Metoo.

The first sirdar of the Ramghureea Missul was Ramghureea Missul.

Khooshyal Singh, of Gugo, a village near Umritsir, of the Jat tribe and a follower of Bunda. He likewise became a robber on the death of his leader. When he died, a man named Nund Singh, a Jat and a native of the village of Sahanghee, distant about four miles from Umritsir, succeeded him. He had a great number of followers, and among them one named Jussa Singh, and his brothers, Mala Singh and Tara Singh, of the Buhraee or carpenter caste, inhabitants of the village of Abchokul, who, giving up their trade, became Sikhs, and joined Nund Singh. Of the three brothers, Jussa Sing was a particularly brave man, and celebrated for his feats in battle. He was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Ramghureea Missul. When Adeena Beg Khan fled on account of his enmity to Ahmed Shah, he engaged several Sikhs as his retainers, and among the rest, these three brothers, and they were of the greatest use to him in managing his troops, When Adeena Beg Khan was defeated by Ahmed Shah, and fled to the hills, the brothers left him, returned to their homes, and afterwards joined Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, who with Ummur Singh and others made war on the Pathans and concealed themselves in the jungle. In this warfare, the brothers were conspicuous for their bravery. In the year A.D. 1757 Ahmed Shah left Lahore; and Adeena Beg Khan returned from the hills, and having conquered Khootub Ghat, the Rohilla, he surrounded the city of Wittala and took

Nund Singh.

Jussa Singh, Mala Singh, and Tara Singh.

Adeena Beg Khan takes Wittala.

it; after which all the zemindars in the Punjab owned his authority.

Adeena Beg Khan, with the view of driving the Sikhs out of the country, made the zemindars take an oath that they would attack them and drive them away; and that wherever a Sikh was found, he was to be immediately killed, or made prisoner. Meerza Azeez Bukshee was appointed to see the enforcement of this somewhat sanguinary law.

Harsh measures adopted by him towards the Sikhs.

This man was attended by a great number of horsemen, and 4,000 carpenters with their axes, for the purpose of cutting down and clearing away the jungle in every direction, for the discovery of the Sikhs concealed in it.

When the Sikhs were thus attacked and hunted from every place of abode, they fled in all directions, and a portion of them, bolder than the rest, went to Umritsir, and took refuge in the mud fort of Ram Rouree.

Sikhs take refuge in Ram Rouree.

Nund Singh, Sanghanee, who was then at the head of the Ramghureea Missul, Jussa Singh, Mala Singh, and Tara Singh, were among the number; and Jye Singh, Ghunneeya, and Ummur Singh, Kingra, with their followers were likewise there, remaining concealed in the fort. Meer Azeez hearing of this, surrounded the fort, and the Sikhs, being desperate, fought with great bravery. Jye Singh and Jussa Singh made a sally from the fort, and killed great numbers of their assailants with matchlocks and arrows; they then returned to the fort and shut the gates. Jye Singh on this

The bravery of Jye Singh.

occasion was mounted on a spirited horse, which carried him into the midst of the enemy; but though matchlocks were aimed at him, and he was attacked on all sides, yet none dared to approach near him, and he escaped within the fort. The Sikhs, being reduced to great straits by Meer Azeez, began to throw down the walls during the night, and at length sallied out, when many were killed, and several taken prisoners. In 1758 A.D. Adeena Beg died; and there being no ruler in the Punjab, the Sikhs began to raise their heads. Those who escaped from Ram Rouree assumed the name of Ramghuree, which is the origin of this Missul; and Nund Singh, Sanghanee, became the head of it.

Adeena Beg Khan dies.

When Nund Singh died, Jussa Singh and his brothers became the sirdars, and called their Missul the Ramghureea.

Ahmed Shah comes to Lahore, and slays great numbers of the Sikhs at Sirhind.

Ahmed Shah, on hearing of the death of Adeena Beg Khan, and the rising of the Sikhs, came to Lahore for the purpose of settling the disturbances in the Punjab. The Sikhs, to the number of 50,000 or 60,000, surrounded Sirhind. Ahmed Shah in one march crossed the Ravee, Beah, and Sutlej, and attacked them on all sides. Seventeen thousand Sikhs were killed; and the slaughter was named Goolhoo Ghara, or the hand of fate. Ahmed Shah returned to Lahore. He established the Pattialah rajah in his own territory, and Komundal Khan was placed over the other sirdars. The temple of Umritsir was blown up by gunpowder by Komundal Khan.

The temple of Umritsir blown up.

The three brothers, Jussa Singh, Mala Singh, and Lena Singh, with Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, remained concealed at one place in the jungle, coming out occasionally to rob travellers. They even went to Umritsir to bathe in the tank, and pillaged the suburbs of the city. When attacked by the Shah's troops, they fired off their matchlocks and fled to the jungles. When Ahmed Shah once more left Lahore for Cabul, and Khwajah Oobeid was left to govern, but without any sufficient force, the whole of the Sikhs took to their old trade of robbing, and crowds of them were to be seen in every part of the Punjab, destroying the villages and building forts. Each sirdar took possession of a city and purgunnah; the Bhungee Missul seizing Emanabad, Pursuroor, and Gujrat. The Ghuneeya and Ramghureea Missuls took possession of Wittala and Kulanour.

The Sikhs again rise.

When Khwajah Oobeid came out to attack the Goojurwala, he was defeated, leaving his guns and treasure in the hands of the Sikhs. On this occasion, the Ramghureea and Ghuneeya Missuls shared the spoils between them.

They defeat the governor.

Some months afterwards, when Ahmed Shah came again to the Punjab and encamped at Rhotas, and afterwards at Jhundeeala, the Sikhs fled and concealed themselves in the jungles and mountains. But still they determined to keep possession of the country, when Ahmed Shah departed. On this occasion, the Ramghureea seized on Wittala and Kulanour, with the surrounding country. At Umritsir, this Missul seized on the fort of Ram Rouree,

called Ramghur, and near it erected a large bazaar.

Extensive possessions of the Ramghureea in the Bist Jalindhur.

The same Missul, also took possession of several villages in the Bist Jalindhur. Jussa Singh gave Wittala to Mala Singh, with the surrounding country; to Tara Singh, he gave Kulanour. The wives of the three brothers lived at Begowal. When Jussa Singh neglected to divide the revenues with Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, the latter wanted to drive out the Ramghureea from their possessions. War was declared between the Missuls, and great numbers fell on both sides. In the engagement, Gunda Singh, Bhungee, and Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, greatly distinguished themselves. The Ghuneeya conquered; and Goorbuksh Singh, the son of Jye Singh, came to Wittala, and besieged Mala Singh in that place; he surrounded the fort, and the inhabitants supplied him with money and stores, as they disliked Mala Singh, who was a tyrant, and often killed people for his amusement. It is related, that one day while thus employed, there was a great storm of thunder and hail. Mala Singh fired at the clouds in contempt; a stone fell from a cloud on his head, and he retreated to the fort, but the inhabitants turned him out, and admitted the Ghuneeya. Rajah Singh and Dewan Singh, the governors of districts, with Tara Chund, a Brahmin, and others, collected and opened the gates of the city to Goorbuksh Singh, who entered, and Mala Singh fled. From Tara Singh he took Kulanour, and thus conquered city after city, as far as the Sutlej. From thence he went to the jungle, in the

Goorbuksh Singh besieges Wittala.

Enters the city.

direction of Kotè Kapoorah, and left Soodh Singh at Loodianah. Jye Singh became more and more powerful, and enjoyed peace for the space of three years. At the end of that time, all the Missuldars quarrelled with him, and he sent for the Ramghureea.

In the Hissar district, Jye Singh gave great trouble and annoyance to the fukeers, and robbed and slaughtered in every direction. After this, Jussa Singh, Ramghureea, retook Wittala, and remained in it for three years. Jye Singh collected a large army and besieged it. After twenty days he raised the siege and departed, when Jussa Singh resolved to build a brick wall around the city, thirty feet high, and twenty-one in breadth; he likewise established a Thannah in the city; after this he went towards Kulanour for the purpose of attacking Juemul Singh, the son of Hukeekut Singh. After hard fighting for the space of three days, the Ramghureea troops fled. The only places remaining to this Missul were, Rearkee, the city of Ruheela, on the bank of the Beas, and some portions of country beyond that river. Constant wars were carried on between this Missul and the Ghuneeya. Night and day, bands of them traversed the country, carrying off cattle, sheep, and goats, from each others' possessions. On the death of Maha Singh and Tara Singh, Jussa Singh remained and lived at Rubeela. Suda Koonwur, having succeeded Jye Singh and Goorbuksh Singh, collected all her troops, and, assisted by Runjeet

Jye Singh besieges Wittala.

Contests between the Ramghureea and Ghuneeya Missuls.

Singh, attacked the fort of Meeana, belonging to the Ramghureea Missul. The siege was carried on for several months, but on the setting in of the rains, it was raised. Dewan Singh, the son of Tara Singh, possessed a small portion of country bestowed on him by his uncle Jussa Singh, where he supported himself by robbing. Jussa Singh left two sons behind him; the one named Jodh Singh, and the other Bheer Singh. The former succeeded his father, as head of the Ramghureea Missul. But he was a man of no activity, and unfit to govern, so that his cousin Dewan Singh made daily inroads on his possessions. At length Runjeet Singh took possession of this Missul, and Jodh Singh became his dependant, and entered the Maharajah's service. Dewan Singh, leaving the Punjab, went to Benares. Before he returned Jodh Singh had died, and for some time he and Bheer Singh governed the country, which the Maharajah at length resolved to seize. In 1808, the Maharajah went to Kangra, and on his return he sent for Bheer Singh and Dewan Singh, and imprisoned them; after which he took possession of their country. From thence, the Maharajah took the road to Rubeela, where he spent the night, and then proceeded to Umritsir, where he besieged the fort of Ram Rouree, or Ramghur, with his artillery. The siege continued for a whole day; and during the ensuing night, those in the fort made their escape and fled. It is said that the Maharajah, in the space of three days, seized

Dewan Singh and Bheer Singh imprisoned by Runjeet Singh.

no fewer than 150 forts and strongholds belonging to the Ramghureea Missul, and they were all destroyed. After some months, Bheer Singh was released, and also Dewan Singh, and a maintenance provided for them by Runjeet Singh. On Bheer Singh he bestowed Pindroa, near the birth-place of Nanuk, in jagheer, which on his death relapsed to the Maharajah.

Runjeet seizes and destroys the Ramghureea Forts.

Bheer Singh and Dewan Singh released; the former receives a jagheer.

A sum of money was given to Dewan Singh, but no land. He was appointed Thannahdar of Baramoola, on the road to Cashmere; where he died, leaving no descendants.

A sum of money given to Dewan Singh.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HISTORY OF THE GHUNEEYA, ALLOOWALYA, AND SUKKERCHUKEA MISSULS.

Ummur Singh.

THE first Sirdar of this Missul, was Ummur Singh, Kegra; he was, like the rest, a robber, and had numerous followers. They resided at Khana Kutchwa, in the Manga country, after they became Sikhs.

Chunda Singh, Hukeekut Singh, and Jye Singh.

Among his retainers, Chunda Singh, Jye Singh his brother, and Hukeekut Singh, were named Ghuneeya.

Their character for bravery soon obtained for Jye Singh and Hukeekut Singh the head of the Missul. Jye Singh, as already stated, united with the Ramghureea against Ahmed Shah. On one occasion, these robber-chiefs plundered Kussoor, and carried off a large quantity of silver, gold and jewels; besides shawls and carpets. Jye Singh's share of this booty was more than four men could carry. The chief place of residence of the Ghuneeya Missul, while exercising its predatory habits, was a thick patch of dhak jungle near Begawal.

When Khwajah Oobeid was governor of Lahore, the combined force of the Ramghureea and Ghuneeya Missuls, took possession of Wittala, and divided the spoil between them. The Ramghureea established themselves at Begawal, and the Ghuneeya in the Baree Doab.

The Ghunceya and Ramghureea Missuls seize Wittala.

Of the latter Missul, four men have been celebrated: namely, Ummur Singh, Kegra; Jye Singh; Ummur Singh, Bhugga; and Hukeekut Singh. When the Sikhs were assured that Ahmed Shah would no more return to the Punjab, each of these men took possession of distinct tracts of country, or purgunnahs.

The four chiefs of the Ghuneeya Missul.

When Jye Singh became head of the Missul, he led an army to Gurhota, at the foot of the hills. The sirdar, or ruler, of this place was Esud Buksh, who had but a small force at his command, and could not oppose Jye Singh with any chance of success; he, therefore, submitted to him, whereby Jye Singh's power and influence were greatly increased. He next took possession of Hajeepore, in the Bist Jalindhur, and he received tribute from the hill chiefs of Moorpoor, Datarpoor, and Saepah. At Mukeriah, there dwelt a sect of Mussulmans named Awan: Jye Singh went against the place, and subdued it after a desperate fight. Great numbers of Sikhs and Mussulmans fell on both sides. The place was pillaged, and many of the inhabitants murdered. At Umritsir, a spacious bazaar, or kutra, was built by the four sirdars of this Missul.

Jye Singh the head of it.

Makes conquests.

Takes Mukeriah.

A coalition of Missuls.

On the death of Ahmed Shah, a coalition was formed among the Missuldars for pillaging, and becoming masters of the Punjab; the chief of these were Jye Singh, Ghuneeya; Jussa Singh, Ramghureea; Jussa Singh, Alloowalya; Tara Singh, Ghueba; and Khooshyal Singh, Fyzoolapooreea.

Their force proceeds against Kussoor.

All these joined their forces, and proceeded towards Kussoor. On learning these tidings, the Pathans entrenched themselves in their houses, and in the fort. At this time, Ulif Khan, who was the chief sirdar, without consulting the others, led his men out

The place pillaged by the Sikhs.

of the fort, and attacked the Sikhs; he was speedily put to flight, and fled towards the city, followed by the Sikhs, who pillaged it of the articles already alluded to. Several days were spent in pillaging and destroying the city. At length, the whole fort was taken and divided among the Missuldars.

The latter expelled by Nizamut Deen Khan.

Nizamut Deen Khan afterwards expelled the Sikhs from Kussoor, and retook the fort and city. When Nizamut Deen Khan died, and his brother Kootuboodeen Khan was sirdar, the Maharajah Runjeet

The place afterwards taken by RunjeetSingh.

Singh, after conquering Lahore, made two successive attacks on Kussoor and took it; and Kootuboodeen Khan became a dependant of the Maharajah, and received Mumdhote, on the left bank of the Ghana, below Feerozpore, in jagheer; where the family still reside.*

* A worthy follower of this family is now agent for the navigation of the Indus at Mittunkhote: I allude to Peer Ibrahim, who was, at one time, killadar of Feerozpore, and deservedly much esteemed by the British Authorities on the north-west frontier.

On the death of Hukeekut Singh, of the Ghuneeya Missul, his son Juemul Singh began to quarrel with Futteh Singh, the son of Mehtab Singh. Futteh Singh, at length, made Juemul Singh prisoner. On one occasion the latter had gained some advantage, taking Futteh Singh prisoner. On learning the tidings of this mishap, his wife collected a force, attacked Juemul Singh, and released her husband. When Futteh Singh died, Juemul Singh reigned in peace for a long time. He was a kind sirdar both to Sikhs and Mussulmans, and consequently much beloved. He made great improvements at Kulanour, which had been almost desolated by the mismanagement of his father, Hukeekut Singh. His daughter, Chund Koonwur, was offered in marriage to Khurruk Singh, eldest son of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh; and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp by the Maharajah. Sir David Ochterlony was present on the occasion. When Juemul Singh died, and his country came into the possession of the Maharajah, the latter settled the village of Futtehghur and several others on his sons.

Quarrels between Futteh Singh and Juemul Singh.

Character of the latter.

His daughter Chund Koonwur given in marriage to Khurruk Singh.

After this, Jye Singh, and his son Goorbuksh Singh, lived peaceably, and possessed Kote Kangra; all the hill rajahs paying tribute to the Ghuneeya Missul, which became the most powerful in the Punjab. Jye Singh, however, began to oppress the Mussulmans of Wittala, and burned the houses of several of the principal inhabitants; among the rest, of Ghoolam Ghous, who was imprisoned, but

Jye Singh oppresses Wittala.

effected his escape, and fled to Mooltan with the intention of proceeding to Cabul. He was advised by Maha-Singh to return with him to Wittala, where he promised to re-establish Ghoolam Ghous. Maha Singh soon found out a pretext for quarrelling with Jye Singh, and several contests took place between them outside the walls of Umritsir. During the absence of Jye Singh, Jussa Singh surrounded Wittala, then governed by his son Goorbuksh Singh. The Ramghureea were successful at every point. During a severe fight between Jussa Singh and Goorbuksh, the latter was killed, and his troops immediately fled. On learning the death of his son, Jye Singh dismounted from his horse, and emptying his quiver of its arrows, exposed himself to the fire of the enemy. The Ramghureea, though thus victorious, respected the grief of the sirdar for the death of his brave son, and drew their forces off the field with a view of seizing on Reearkee.

Maha Singh befriends Ghoolam Ghous.

Wittala attacked by the Ramghureea, and Goorbuksh Singh killed.

Grief of Jye Singh at the loss of his son.

Jye Singh, returning to Wittala, erected a tomb on the north of the city, near a nullah, over the remains of his son. Being pressed by the Ramghureea, Jye Singh left Wittala and went to Pathan Kote, taking Juemul Singh and Tara Singh along with him. His daughter-in-law, Suda Koonwur, the widow of Goorbuksh Singh, remained behind at Wittala; but becoming alarmed at the approach of Jussa Singh, she collected her followers, and made her escape bare-footed to Saeean. Hearing that the city had been thus deserted, Jussa

Suda Koonwur escapes from Wittala.

Singh sent an army forward to seize it. When Bagh Singh and Hookoomut Singh, the leaders of this force, approached Wittala, Dhurrum Singh, who was Thamahdur under Jye Singh, made his escape over the wall. The city was taken possession of by the Ramghureea, and Soeean was the only place remaining in the hands of Jye Singh. Jussa Singh then began to plunder the possessions of the Ghuneeya on the bank of the Beah. At this times Jye Singh was threatened from another quarter. Sunsar Chund, the hill chief of Kutoch, bore enmity to Jye Singh, on account of the latter having taking Kote Kangra out of his hands: he came as far as Hajeepore, seizing upon all the country between that place and the hills, among other Mukeriah; Atulghur, which is a fort outside the city, remained in the possessions of Jye Singh. A slave girl, named Dasser, defended the place for four months against Sunsar Chund, who was obliged to raise the siege. The fort of Kangra was likewise in the possession of Jye Singh. War was carried on between Sunsar Chund and Jye Singh for three years; at the end of which, Suda Koonwur, the widow of Goorbuksh, resolved to bring about an alliance between the Sookurchukea and Ghuneeya Missuls, by giving her daughter, Mehtab Koonwur, in marriage to Runjeet Singh, the son of the Maha Singh, the head of the former Missul. Having thus concerted her plan, she proceeded with her daughter to Juwala Mookhee, and there visited Raj Koonwur, the wife of Maha Singh,

The city taken by the Ramghureea.

Sunsar Chund makes war on Jye Singh.

Atulghur defended by a slave girl.

Suda Koonwur resolves to marry her daughter Mehtab to Runjeet Singh.

and the two were speedily on friendly terms. There is reason to suppose that Mehtab Koonwur was not the real daughter of Suda Koonwur by Goorbuksh Singh, but a counterfeit substituted by her, for certain political purposes. Jye Singh was anxious to make peace with Sunsar Chund, who insisted on getting Kangra. Vakeels were employed on both sides. After a great deal of negotiation, it was at length agreed upon that Sunsar Chund should receive Kote Kangra, giving up, in lieu of it, Hajeepore and Mukeriah; and in the event of war between the Ghuneeya and Ramghureea Missuls, Sunsar Chund was to assist the former.

Sunsar Chund insists on obtaining Kote Kangra, and obtains it.

Sunsar Chund having agreed to these terms, delivered up the countries mentioned in the treaty. Having finished this important matter, Jye Singh, on being joined by the rajahs of Moorpoore and Chunnbeah, as well as Sunsar Chund and Maha Singh, marched against Wittala. Jussa Singh was in the city and prepared for the siege, which, after being carried on for twenty-two days, was raised; and Jussa Singh, as already mentioned, resolved to surround Wittala with a very high wall of brick, but only finished one side of it.

Jye Singh marches against Wittala.

In 1788, the news of Maha Singh's death, at the village of Dhareewal, reached Jye Singh; who lamented him and went to Wittala. The son of Maha Singh, (Runjeet Singh) being then a boy, his Dewan governed for him. In 1792, Jye Singh sent for Runjeet Singh to Wittala, and there married him to Mehtab Koonwur his grandaughter,

Maha Singh's death, and the marriage of his son to Mehtab Koonwur.

or who, at least, was said to have been born to Suda Koonwur by his son Goorbuksh Singh. Vast sums of money were expended on the occasion. Suda Koonwur exercised complete control over her young son-in-law.

When Jye Singh died, he left two sons, Nidhan Singh and Bagh Singh, who retired with their mother, Raj Koonwur, to Hajeepoor and Soeean. All the rest of the Ghuneeya Missul fell to the share of Suda Koonwur, who was thus enabled to assist her son-in-law against the Ramghureea. She built outside the city of Wittala a large tank, and collecting all her troops, she attacked Jussa Singh.

Jye Singh dies, and Suda Koonwur seizes on the Missul.

Makes war on Jussa Singh.

When Zeman Shah (Pathan) arrived at Lahore, all the sirdars of the Punjab fled to the hills; among the rest, Runjeet Singh, the head of the Sukker Chukia Missul, leaving all his property under the charge of Suda Koonwur, in the fort of Atulghur. When Zeman Shah departed from the Punjab, Runjeet Singh was left in possession of Lahore. Here he imprisoned his wife Mehtab Koonwur, owing to her misconduct. She had presented him with two sons, Shere Singh and Tara Sing, but Runjeet did not recognise them as his offspring. In 1800, Mehtab Koonwur died, and Runjeet Singh seized the Ghuneeya Missul. He first took possession of Adeenanuggur, which belonged to Gooloo Singh, the son of Chunda Singh; to whom he gave a village in jagheer, then the territory of Soonjanpore, belonging to the sons of Ummur Singh, on whom he bestowed Dhurumkote,

Mehtab Koonwur imprisoned.

Runjeet Singh seizes on the Ghuneeya Missul.

three miles from Wittala in jagheer, He next dispossessed Jye Singh's widow of Hajeepore. Nidhan Singh and Bagh Singh, the sons of Jye Singh, soon afterwards died; and thus terminated the Ghuneeya Missul; but Boodh Singh, the son of Ummur Singh, remained at Dhurumkote, the sole-surviving heir of the Missul. Runjeet Singh resolved to destroy the Ramghureea Missul; and in 1811 he arrived at Wittala, and encamped at Shum Shere Khan's tank, where he remained for a month, and sent for Uhmed Shah to consult him on the subject. He ultimately gave up his original intention; and in 1823, during the Mohurrum, he sent for Suda Koonwur to Lahore, and put her in confinement. He then went to Mulkeriah, and appointed Desa Singh to the charge of the Ghuneeya Missul. After taking possession of Mulkeriah, Runjeet Singh returned to Lahore, and summoned all the zemindars of Suda Koonwur to his presence. He bestowed degrees of honour upon them; and Shadeen, the son of Azeezoodeen, was appointed governor of Wittala.

Runjeet Singh resolves on destroying the Ramghureea Missul.

Foregoes the intention.

Imprisons Suda Koonwur.

Alloowalya Missul.

The first man of note in the Alloowalya Missul, was Jussa Singh, who lived at the village of Mulma Sadhoo, in the Manja country, by trade a kulal, or distiller, of the Toolse tribe. This Jussa Singh supported his father and mother, at the village of Alloo, near Mulma Sadhoo; and he, his uncle, and other relatives, became Sikhs and servants of the Fyzoolapoorea. Kapoor Singh, the head of this Missul, occasionally visited the village of Alloo,

and remained in it during the night, and Jussa Singh's mother placed her son under the charge of the sirdar. Some time after this event, Jussa Singh collected followers of his own, and became a sirdar. On the death of Kapoor Singh, his followers separated, and Jussa Singh became a famous robber, and seized on different portions of land. At first, he took the villages of Alloo and Seereeala, the latter a large place. Afterwards he seized on Futtehiahad, Lilliana, Govindwal, Silleeala, and Bhopala, as far as Turuntara. After this, he possessed himself of Gograwal, and crossing the Beas he seized on Sultanpore and Tilwundee. He then attacked Raee Ibrahim, of Kapoorthullah, who gave up his country to him. Crossing the Sutlej, he became master of Eesa Khan and Jagraon. Thus, Jussa Singh, Allowalya, became the greatest sirdar in the Bist Jalindhur, and was called "*Badshah*" by his dependents and followers. He was of a liberal disposition and never wore a suit of clothes twice, giving them away to his dependents. He was friendly to the Mussulmans, many of whom were employed in his service. Jussa Singh joined Jye Singh against the Ramghureea Missul. At his death he left no heir, and his brother Bagh Singh succeeded him as the head of the Missul, but died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by his son Futteh Singh. This sirdar formed a friendship with Runjeet Singh. The chowdie of Futteh Singh was named Kadir Buksh; he was a Rajpoot by birth, and a native of Tilwundee; he had the

Jussa Singh the first sirdar.

Makes extensive conquests on both sides of the Sutlej.

Of a liberal disposition.

Futteh Singh.

Kadir Buksh.

management of all his affairs, and was also vakeel at Lahore. When Kadir Buksh became a rich man, he was entertained by the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, having quarrelled with his own master. An army was sent, at his suggestion, to the Bist Jalindhur, in order to seize it, and place Futteh Singh in confinement. On receiving tidings of this intention, Futteh Singh fled across the Sutlej, and concealed himself in his village of Jagraon. When the Maharajah heard of the flight of Futteh Singh, he expressed his astonishment, and sent Azeezoodeen to settle the Bist Jalindhur. Anund Ram, Pindaree, was employed in razing Futteh Singh's forts, and all the zemindars of the Doab paid tribute to the Maharajah. Kadir Buksh remained with Runjeet Singh at Umritsir; and died there, it is said, by a violent death. Runjeet bestowed Tilwundee on his son in jagheer.

Futteh Singh crosses the Sutlej.

When Futteh Singh found that the British would only guarantee to him his possessions on the left bank of the Sutlej, he resolved to return to the Bist Jalindhur and ask forgiveness of the Maharajah; who sent Nonehal Singh and Desa Singh to reinstate Futteh Singh in his possessions. The whole of these were restored to him in the Baree and Bist. Futteh Singh imprisoned the sons of Kadir Buksh, and levied fines on them.

Futteh Singh returns to the Jalindhur, and is restored to his possessions.

When Futteh Singh died, his son Nehal Singh succeeded him; but he and his brother Ummur Singh quarrelled, and the latter went to represent his case to the Maharajah Shere Singh. One day

Nehal Singh and Ummur Singh quarrel.

when crossing the Ravee, with the Maharajah, the boat was upset and Ummur Singh was drowned. This occurred in 1841, after which time Nehal Singh remained in quiet possession of his country in the Bist Jalindhur. Ummur Singh drowned in the Ravee.

Kapoorthullah was the chief town in the possession of the Alloowalya Sirdar, in the Bist, and it was greatly enlarged and beautified by Futteh Singh. His friendship for the Maharajah was sincere, and they exchanged turbans, which, among the Sikhs, is considered the strongest bond of friendship. The sirdar was exceedingly fond of horses; and in memory of a favorite black charger, he erected a tomb, over which was placed a clay figure of the horse. It was near the entrance of the city on approaching it from the Beas. Character of Futteh Singh. His fondness for horses.

At the time when the Sikh sirdars divided the Punjab amongst them, Churruth Singh, the grandfather of Runjeet Singh, had about 400, or 500, horsemen in his employ.

One account is, that this Churruth Singh was kind to a fukeer, whom he fed and clothed. One day the fukeer came to Churruth Singh's house and jumping on his back, began to beat him with his shoe, ordering him to leave his fields, for Churruth Singh was at this time a zemindar near Goojurawala. Churruth Singh obeyed the orders of the fukeer, and at first, bought five horses, and became a highway robber. By degrees he increased his force, and seized on several villages, such as Pindan Khan, and Loon Khana, or the Rise of Churruth Singh.

Forms the Sookkur or Sukkur Chukeea Missul.

salt mines; at length he formed an independent Missul, named the Sukker Chukeea.

Sookkur, or Sakkur, was a village in the Manja country, which is now in ruins; but from his residing there, Churruth Singh named his Missul after it.

Killed by the bursting of his gun.

Churruth Singh was killed in the year 1767, by the bursting of his gun, when Maha Singh was only seven years old. The Mootusuddee and Dewan managed the affairs of the Missul for the young sirdar; but when he attained the years of maturity, he took the management into his own hands. Maha Singh became a great sirdar, and had 60,000 horsemen. At the age of twenty, and while at war with the zemindars, his son Runjeet Singh was born. At this time he took the fort of Rusoolghur, and the name *Ranjeet* was bestowed on his son, signifying the "field of battle:" this occurred in 1780, or thirteen years after the death of Churruth Singh. Maha Singh managed the affairs of his Missul satisfactorily, and at length demanded the daughter of Goorbuksh Singh, Ghuneeya, in marriage for his son. When Runjeet Singh was eight years of age, or in 1788, Maha Singh died of dysentery.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LIFE OF THE MAHARAJAH RUNJEET SINGH, FOUNDER OF THE SIKH MONARCHY.

Introductory remarks.

It has been stated in the foregoing chapter, that Churruth Singh, the grandfather of the Maharajah, was the founder of the Sookur Chukeea, or Sukker Chukeea Missul, reckoned one of the smallest in the Punjab. This man was a zemindar, and became, like many other Jats, a Sikh, which seemed to be the first step to the favorite trade of robbery and pillage. The quiet and industrious Jat, so long as he remained a cultivator of the field, never concerned himself with his neighbour's affairs, or prospects; but when he saw a lawless set of Sikh robbers, with numerous followers, and apparently in the enjoyment of every luxury of life, which he found it impossible, with every exertion of himself and his family, to procure, it is no wonder that he was often tempted to renounce his life of toil and trouble, for the less irksome pursuits of a robber. Churruth Singh did not

require the chastisement of a fukeer to induce him to seek his livelihood by less arduous labour than cultivating the fields; and the well-known tenets of Govind Singh, whereby the use of the sword was enforced, had a ready attaction for him and others. The story of the fukeer is, no doubt, one of those invented to give a romantic colouring to the history of Runjeet's ancestor, and to supply some excuse for Churruth Singh's adoption of the disreputable calling of a robber. The exact date of Churruth Singh's death, by the bursting of his matchlock, is differently stated by former historians of the Punjab. According to one, it occurred in 1774, while another gives 1771; a difference of three years. Now in the Mussulman records regarding this event, the death of Churruth Singh is stated to have occurred when his son Maha Singh was only seven years of age; and further, that Runjeet Singh, the son of the latter, was born when he had attained the age of twenty. All are, moreover, agreed, that the Maharajah was born in the year of the Christian era 1780; so that his father being then twenty years old, he must have been born in 1760, and seven years added to this will give the correct year of Churruth Singh's death, 1767.

The age of Maha Singh.

Runjeet Singh was born, at Goojurawala, on the 2nd November, 1780.

Birth of Runjeet Singh.

His mother was of the Jheend family; the father was Maha Singh, a man of great military skill and bravery. He died young; thus leaving his son, a

boy of eight years of age, in the hands of his mother and the Dewan, and under the control of his mother-in-law Suda Koonwur, one of the most artful and ambitious women who figure in Sikh history. The mother of Runjeet Singh was aided in the government of the Missul by Lukput Singh, her husband's dewan, with whom she was on terms of undue intimacy; but on Runjeet attaining the years of manhood, he threw off the thraldom of this man and his mother; and the latter, it was supposed, was poisoned. It appears further, that the favours of the Queen-regent were not exclusively confined to Lukput Singh; and from all accounts, we are to conclude, that both the mother and wife of Runjeet Singh were abandoned characters. The Maharajah was a second time married to Raj Koonwur, the daughter of Khujan Singh, the Nukee chief; and his third wife was the present Ranee of Lahore, and supposed mother of Dhuleep Singh.

The abandoned character of his wife and mother. His second wife.

The mother of Mehtab Koonwur, the first wife of Runjeet Singh, as already stated, was anxious to connect herself with the family of Maha Singh, who was a rising man; and as she knew that on the death of her father-in-law Jye Singh, the possessions of the powerful Missul, the Ghuneeya, would fall into her hands, she thought, by getting the control of the youthful Runjeet, she might easily subject the Punjab to her own dominion. She appeared to calculate with certainty regarding the results, for the youthful career of her son-in-law was such as to give every hope of the Ramghureea

The politic views of Suda Koonwur.

Missul yielding to him; the only remaining power in the Punjab, seeing that she herself was at the head of the Ghuneeya.

Lahore in the possession of Runjeet Singh.

In 1799, Lahore was in the possession of Runjeet Singh. To wrest it from him, a powerful coalition was entered into between Jussa Singh, Ramghureea, Goolab Singh, Saheb Singh, Jodh Singh, and Nizamut Deen Khan of Kussoor. Opposed to these, were the combined forces of Runjeet Singh and Suda Koonwur. Failing in the space of four months to make any impression on the place, the siege was raised. Near Wittala, however, a battle was fought between Suda Koonwur, and Jodh Singh son of Jussa Singh, Ramghureea; Suda Koonwur was also aided by Runjeet Singh. Suda Koonwur was victorious. After this, Runjeet Singh proceeding to Jummoo, first seized on Meeroowal. The sirdar of Meeroowal brought a tribute of 8,000 rupees. He next subjected the fort of Jussurwal. When he had advanced to within four miles of Jummoo, he encamped, and the rajah visited him, bringing presents. On his return from Jummoo, the Maharajah took Sealkote, and imprisoned Dul Singh, his father's maternal uncle; and Dewan Mokum Chund was also imprisoned by Saheb Singh. He beseiged Atulghur, which was defended by the wife of Dul Singh. She was aided by Saheb Singh and others, and Runjeet gave up the siege and proceeded against Dilawurghur. The hostile armies were separated from each other about eight miles. Several skirmishes took place, and Kesree Singh, Sodee,

Is besieged, but in vain.

Suda Koonwur victorious over Jussa Singh.

Seizes Meeroowal and Jussurwal.

Takes Sealkote.

Raises the siege of Atulghur.

delivered up Dilawurghur, and received for jagheer, Shah Durrah. The Maharajah returned to Lahore. About this time Ensuf Ullee Khan arrived as vakeel from the British, bringing presents to the Maharajah. In the year A.D. 1800* Khurruk Singh was born.

Dilawurghur delivered to Runjeet Singh.

A vakeel arrives from the British.

Khurruk Singh born.

Again, Saheb Singh, Bhungeea, raised a tumult at Goojurawala, and Runjeet Singh went against him; but peace was concluded through the intervention of Suda Koonwur, and Runjeet returned to Lahore. The Maharajah next proceeded against Nizamut Oodeen Khan, of Kussoor, but he did not succeed in taking that strong fort; he, however, burned and pillaged the suburbs.

Saheb Singh raises a tumult.

Unsuccessful attempt on Kussoor.

Saheb Singh, Bhungeea, and others of this Missul, again raised the standard of revolt at Goojurawala; and Runjeet, leaving Futteh Singh, Kalawala, to command at Kussoor, proceeded against Saheb Singh. An engagement took place, and a peace was again concluded. The Maharajah now proceeded towards the hills, to assist Suda Koonwur, who was fighting unsuccessfully against the Rajah of Noorpoor and Sunsar Chund, of Kuloch. The latter fled to his own country, on the approach of the Maharajah, and he having taken the fort of Nuoshuhur from the Noorpoor rajah, bestowed it with all its revenues on Suda Koonwur. Returning from thence, the Maharajah took the fort of Pindeeputteean, across the Chenab, and bestowed the

Saheb Singh again revolts.

Runjeet proceeds to assist Suda Koonwur.

Nuoshuhur taken.

Pindeeputteean taken.

* The year 1802 is generally given for this event; but it happened in Bik. 1857, which corresponds to the year in the text.

governorship of it on Futteh Khan, Alloowalya.

Fort of Bund taken.

From this he came to the fort of Bund, which he besieged for two months; when it surrendered. He

The zemindars of Dhunnee subdued.

next exacted tribute from the zemindars of the Dhunnee country, famous for its breed of horses, and returned to Lahore.

Goes against Mooltan, and receives a nuzurana.

The Maharajah now resolved on subduing Kussoor; and with this view collected all the sirdars in the Bist, while he himself went against Mooltan. When he arrived near the city, the governor sent him a tribute; which being accepted, the Maharajah retraced his steps to Lahore.

Bagh Singh, Bhungee, who was now at the head of the Ghuneeya Missul, died; and his son, who succeeded him, made war on Suda Koonwur. She

Assists Suda Koonwur against Bagh Singh.

asked for assistance from her son-in-law, who proceeded to join her. He ravaged the country about Wittala, and besieged Soojaupore. He, at length, effected peace between Suda Koonwur and her opponent, and returned to Lahore. In the same

Runjeet bathes in the Ganges at Hurdwar.

year, the Maharajah wishing to bathe in the Ganges, crossed the Sutlej and Jumnah, and after he had bathed, returned to Lahore. Shortly

Takes Fugwarrah, also Bujwarrah.

after this, he seized on Fugwarrah, in the Bist Jalindhur, and gave it to Futteh Singh, Alloowalya. The villages also of Hoosheearpore, and the fort of Bujwarrah in the same Doab, which paid tribute to Sunsar Chund, were taken possession of.

Juswunt Rao arrives in the Punjab.

In 1805, Jusmunt Rao, the Mahratta, and Ameer Khan, flying from the English, arrived in

the Punjab, with a large force of horse and foot. General Lord Lake arrived in pursuit of them at Jellalabad, near the Beas. The Maharajah mediated peace between the Mahratta and the British. This, was at length, concluded. Runjeet Singh then visited Juswunt Rao, and learned many particulars from him regarding the British. He heard with astonishment of their warlike exploits. After that period, the Maharajah began to dread the power of the British, and determined to keep on peaceful terms with them, and he despatched a vakeel to Lord Lake.

Learns from him the power of the British.

When peace had been concluded between the British and the Mahrattas, the forces of both left the Punjab.

In the month of Bysakh (April) 1806, the Maharajah wished to bathe in the tank of the Kutas, in the vicinity of the Indus; and in his journey towards it, he reduced all the zemindars. On his return he was seized with a loathsome disease brought on by his own indiscretion, which obliged him to remain at the village of Meeanee, on the bank of the Jelum, until he recovered. In the third month he reached Lahore, and ordered the Shalamar gardens to be repaired; and for the purpose of watering them, the canal of Ali Murdan Khan was brought through them. By this measure the lands in the vicinity were much improved, and their revenues increased. In the month of October, he resolved to take possession of the country on the left bank of the Sutlej, and with

Is seized with an illness.

Remains at Meeanee until he recovers.

Repairs the Shalamar gardens.

this view, the Maharajah crossed the river, and took the fort of Loodianah; which he bestowed on his maternal uncle Bagh Singh, of Jheend, displacing Noorsoor Misr, the widow of Rao Ilias. He received a nuzurana from the Mahawala Jusmunt Singh; and from thence he went to Pattialah, where he made peace between the rajah and his wife, receiving for his good offices a lakh of rupees in money and property. In going and returning he exacted tribute and allegiance from the sirdars of the Malwa Doab. In the year 1807, the Maharajah set out for Kussoor, collecting his army at Umritsir. The fort of Kussoor was occupied and defended by Kootuboodeen Khan, the son of Nizamut Oodeen Khan, and he offered a fierce resistance to his assailant, who had formerly failed against his father. But where force of arms could not prevail, the stratagems and wiles of a woman did; for Suda Koonwur, by bribing some of the Khan's people, prevailed on them to open the gates; and this strong fort was at length taken possession of by Runjeet Singh.

Takes the fort of Loodianah.

The Mahawala pays a nuzurana.

Receives a lakh of rupees from the Pattialah rajah..

Goes against Kussoor.

Is taken by treachery.

The Pathan fort of Dehalpore also yielded, so that the whole of Kussoor came into the possession of the Maharajah.

Dehalpore also taken.

Runjeet Singh had determined on the subjection of Mooltan, and proceeded in the direction of that strong fort, exacting tribute from the zemindars of the country through which he passed. He plundered the city of Mooltan; but the governor of the fort, Moozuffur Khan, by paying a nuzurana

Goes against Mooltan.

Pillages it, and receives a nuzurana.

of 70,000 rupees, induced the Maharajah to return to Lahore.

In the month of October, 1808, Runjeet proceeded through the Bist, and crossed the Sutlej. He seized the cities of Jagraon and Rhaee-ka-kote, receiving a ransom of 40,000 rupees, from Futteh Singh, for the former. From thence, the Maharajah went to Naba, and received a second nuzurana from Jusmunt Singh; also from Saheb Singh, of Pattialah; the Mulherwala and Kotilawala; likewise from the Keonthul rajah, Kurm Singh of Shahabad; Bugwun Singh, Bhooreea; Goorbuksh Singh, Umballawala; and all the sirdars and zemindars, in that part of the country. He then returned to Lahore, taking the fort of Narrainghur; where Futteh Singh Kalawala, and several other sirdars were killed. This fort was given to his friend Futteh Singh Alloowalya by the Maharajah, and from whom he received a nuzurana of 8,000 rupees. From Goptah Singh, of Maneemajirah, the Maharajah exacted 30,000 rupees; and from the sirdars of Roopur, half that sum.

Takes Jagraon and Rhaee-ka-kote.

Exacts tribute from all the sirdars of the Doab.

Takes Narrainghur.

Mokhum Chund having escaped from the confinement in which he had been placed by Saheb Singh, Goojurawala, arrived at Lahore, and was received into the service of the Maharajah. He obtained Raon and the neighbouring country in jagheer. This district had lately been wrested from the widow of Tara Singh, by Runjeet Singh. In the month of Magh, (January) Runjeet set out for Pathan Kote, taking Suda Koonwur along with

Mokhum Chund arrives at Lahore.

him. He reached Wittala, and from thence went to Jusrota, and levied contributions. He next proceeded to Bissoulee, and exacted 8,000 rupees from the rajah as an annual tribute, besides a nuzurana; the latter amounted to 25,000 rupees. The wuzeer of Sunsar Chund, Kutoch, visited the Maharajah, with a request from his master, that he would assist him against Umma Singh, the Goorkha chief; but the Maharajah would not agree.

Subjects Bissoulee.

Departing from the hills, Runjeet Singh arrived at Sealkote which he besieged for seven days, and took it; the charge of this strong fortress was made over to Gunda Singh, Sofi. Leaving Sealkote, the Maharajah proceeded to the Chenab, where Saheb Singh, Bhungee, met him, with a present in money, and a horse. He despatched Dul Singh, who had succeeded Futteh Singh, Kalowala, with a force to subdue the zemindars in the Doabs Chinth and Sindh-sagur, lying between the Chenab, Jelum and Indus, and lay them under contributions. The Maharajah himself went to Juemul Singh's (Ghuneeya) country, and obtained much spoil and riches; after which he returned to Lahore. From thence he despatched Mokum Chund, Jodh Singh, and other sirdars across the Gharra, at Hurreekee, towards Mumdhote. They seized on Zera and Kotekapoorah, and laid siege to Fureedkote; but from want of water, and on receiving 8,000 rupees and two horses, they raised the siege. Contributions were then laid on all the zemindars of Sirhind. In January 1808, Runjeet

Retakes Sealkote.

Goes to the Chenab.

Zera and Kotekapoorah taken.

Siege of Fureedkote raised.

Singh sent his artillery against Hursun Moonerah, or Sheikhpooreea; the place was besieged and taken, and bestowed on Khurruk Singh, the Maharajah's eldest son. At the end of Bysakh (April) a vakeel arrived from the British government bringing presents; he was received kindly and khil-luts bestowed on him. In the course of this year, the fort of Goojur Singh, Bhungeea, at Umritsir, was repaired, or rebuilt. In it the treasure was deposited, under a guard of 2,000 soldiers, and the whole put under the charge of Emamoodeen, the brother of Azeezoodeen. This is the celebrated fort of Govindghur, strongly built of brick and lime, with numerous bastions, and strong iron-gates: twenty-five pieces of cannon were likewise placed in the fort. During this year troops were sent to Mooltan, to exact tribute from Moozuffer Khan, the governor, and also the zemindars of that rich country. About this time, the rajah of Jheend, Bagh Singh; and Bhaee Lal Singh, Mhy-tulwala, arrived at Umritsir, with presents and horses for the Maharajah; also Bhowanee Dass, Moobra, the dewan of Wuzeer Shere Mohummud, came with all his family from Peshawur, having fled from that place. He brought rich presents, in money and other articles, for the Maharajah, and entered his service. He formed a regular treasury for Runjeet Singh, and paid his troops, and was thus of great use to Runjeet Singh, who, hitherto, had adopted no regulated scale of payments. During the same year, Mr. Metcalfe arrived from Delhi,

Sheikpooreea taken.

Govindghur built, and the treasure deposited there.

Tribute exacted from Mooltan.

Bhowanee Dass arrives at Lahore.

Mr. Metcalfe arrives at Umritsir.

as ambassador, or envoy, from the British. He remained nearly two months at Umritsir, settling boundaries. During the Mohurrum, the soldiers belonging to Mr. Metcalfe's escort had constructed their tazeeas.* Seeing these, the Ukalees assembled to the number of 3,000 or 4,000, with the intention of destroying them and preventing the celebration of the festival. At first Mr. Metcalfe took no notice of them, from his wish to give no offence to the Maharajah, and endeavoured to persuade them to desist; but finding fair words thrown away upon these fanatics, he collected his escort, amounting to about 500 or less, and prepared to defend himself. The Sepahees boldly attacked the rabble, and slew and wounded several of them: the rest fled, pursued by the British troops towards the city. The Maharajah, who was then at Goovindghur, observing the tumult, came outside, and shaking his kummurbund,† as a signal for peace, proceeded towards Mr. Metcalfe's tent, to which the British soldiers returned. Runjeet Singh complimented the envoy on the bravery of his soldiers, and determined thenceforth to adopt the arms and discipline of the British, seeing that a few hundred of the latter put to flight as many thousands of his fiercest troops.

The Ukalees in great numbers attack his escort, are defeated and pursued.

Conduct of Runjeet on the occasion.

Resolves to adopt British discipline and arms.

A few days after this occurrence, a khillut, or dress of honour, was presented to Mr. Metcalfe, and

* Elegant structures of tinsel-work, intended to celebrate the festival.

† A white cloth tied round the loins.

he took his departure, after completing a short treaty with Runjeet Singh, whereby the latter agreed to preserve peace and amity with the British; not to keep more troops on the left bank of the Sutlej than were necessary for preserving his territories; and to abstain from making any further inroads, or levying contributions on the Sikh chiefs on the left bank of the Sutlej, who thus placed themselves under British protection, and were in future denominated the "protected Sikh chiefs." This treaty was concluded at Umritsir, on the 25th of April 1809, and was religiously kept by Runjeet Singh until the day of his death, or a period of nearly thirty years. After this, a British force occupied Loodianah during the year 1809, under the command of Sir David Ochterlony. Opposite to Loodianah, and near the right bank of the Sutlej, the Maharajah built the fort of Phillour, for the protection of the ghat. The Dewan Mokum Chund was appointed killadar, or commandant of the fort; and Nund Singh Bukshee was sent as vakeel, or ambassador, to Sir David Ochterlony; he was the father of Govind Juss, and Kishen Chund, who afterwards occupied the same important appointment, when Captains Murray and Wade were political agents.

Treaty formed with the Maharajah.

A British force occupies Loodianah.

Runjeet builds Phillour.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE LIFE OF RUNJEET SINGH, AFTER THE TREATY OF 1809 WITH THE BRITISH.

Goes against Kote Kangra.

In 1809 the Maharajah went against Kote Kangra, on account of the Goorkha chief, Ummur Singh, having attacked Sunsar Chund. The latter had made an able defence for the space of four years; but at length, he determined to give up this strong fort to Runjeet Singh, and sent a vakeel to the Maharajah with the offer of it, provided the Maharajah would drive the Goorkhas out of his country.

Collects a large army.

The Maharajah took a large army with him, and was accompanied by Suda Koonwur. He took the road by Wittala and Juwala Mookhee; and at the latter place collected all his sirdars, and made them take an oath that they would support him in the war which he was about to wage against the Goorkhas.

A fierce engagement takes place.

A fierce engagement took place between the Sikhs and Ummur Singh's troops; and it was computed, that at least 1,000 fell on each side. After

The siege of Kangra raised.

this, Ummur Singh raised the siege of Kangra.

He then lived among the Hazarians, who supplied him with grain; but this failing, he took up his position in the fort of Malakra, which was besieged by the Maharajah, and yielded after a few days, and the Goorkhas agreed to leave the country, after paying a nuzurana to the victor. Ummur Singh and the Goorkhas thus left the country, carrying all their families along with them.

Fort of Malakra taken.

Ummur Singh leaves the country.

For the fulfilment of the agreement with Sunsar Chund, a son of the latter had been sent as a hostage, but on seeing the departure of the Goorkhas, Sunsar Chund refused to deliver up Kote Kangra. Suda Koonwur seated herself on an elephant with the boy, and proceeding towards the fort, demanded the keys. These were refused, until the son of Sunsar Chund was made to say, that it was his wish that they should be given up. The gates were then opened, and Suda Koonwur took possession of the fort, and released the son of Sunsar Chund; who, on going to his father, related to him the trick that had been played on him by the wily Suda Koonwur. The rajah was greatly enraged at his having been overmatched by a woman. Desa Singh, Majeetheea, was appointed killadar, or commandant, of Kote Kangra. When the news spread among the hill states, that the Maharajah was in possession of a fort, hitherto considered by them impregnable, they readily yielded allegiance to the Maharajah; who returned to Lahore through the Bist Jalindhur, taking, as he proceeded, the village of Hurreeanah from the widow of Buggut Singh,

Sunsar Chund refuses to give up Kangra.

Induced to do so by Suda Koonwur.

Desa Singh appointed killadar of Kangra.

The hill states yield.

Hurreeanah taken.

lately deceased. At the feast of the Dewalee, he arrived at Umritsir, and in the month of Magh, (January) 1810, learned that Jodh Singh, of Wuzeerabad, had died. The Maharajah proceeded, forthwith, in that direction, and received a nuzurana from the son of the late sirdar, who was established in his father's place. The Maharajah then crossed the Chenab; and Saheb Singh, Bhungee, hearing of his approach, fled to the hills; so, that his city of Goojrat fell an easy prey, and without opposition, to Runjeet Singh. Nooroodeen, brother to Azeezoodeen, was left in charge of it. From thence, the Maharajah went to Saeewal, and the zemindars of the district, after a few days' fighting were brought under subjection. He then went to Khooshab, and fought with the sirdars of that place; who became tributaries to him, and concluded a peace after a few days.

Takes Goojrat.

Subdues Khooshab.

Shah Soojah Ool Moolk.

About this time, Shah Soojah Ool Moolk, who had been king of Cabul, arrived at Khooshab, and visited the Maharajah on friendly terms. They discussed the subject of Mooltan, which the Shah advised Runjeet to seize, and make over to him. The Maharajah appeared to agree to the proposal, and departed for Mooltan. For the space of two months, he besieged the place, and plundered the suburbs. During this siege, Uttur Singh, Dharee, was killed. When Moozuffur Khan, the governor, saw no chance of assistance, he agreed to pay a nuzurana of a lakh and 80,000 rupees, at the same time offering to pay allegiance to the Maha-

Besieges and plunders Mooltan.

The governor pays a nuzurana, and yields allegiance.

rajah, and throw off that of Cabul. The Maharajah accepted the nuzurana, and departed for Lahore.

At this time Himmut Singh, of Jilleewal, who was vakeel of Juswunt Singh, of Naba, deserted from his master and took service with the Maharajah. He became wuzeer, or prime minister, and received Alawalpore purgunnah, in jagheer. In the course of the year 1809, Bhya Khooshyal Singh, a native of Hindostan, became a soldier in the service of the Maharajah, and made himself a great favourite with the latter. He was appointed chamberlain, or deoree; and without his order, no one could see the Maharajah. This office was a lucrative one and became the means of enriching its possessor, who often received large sums for obtaining an interview with so celebrated a personage as Runjeet Singh had now become. In the month of Katukh (October) 1809, Mehtab Koonwur, the daughter of Suda Koonwur, and wife of Runjeet Singh, died. During the latter part of this year, Wuzeerabad was taken from the son of Jodh Singh.

Khooshyal Singh.

Mehtab Koonwur dies.

1867 Bik. 1810 A.D.

The purgunnah of Hallowal, which is in the Doab Rechna, was also taken from Bagh Singh; and the Dewan Mokhum Chund was sent against Sooltan Khan, the rajah of Bhember. The latter fought gallantly, but at length lost his fort, and became a tributary of the Lahore government, agreeing to pay 40,000 rupees annually.

Hallowal taken.

Bhember taken.

The Maharajah in the winter season went to Pind Dadun Khan, making all the zemindars

tributaries to him. At the Hooly festival he returned to Lahore.

1868 Bik. 1811 A.D. Nukee added to the Maharajah's possessions.

In 1811, Mokhum Chund was sent against the Nukee country, lying between Mooltan and Manja, and it was added to the possessions of the Maharajah, several villages being given in jagheer. In the month of Asih (September) the city of Jalindhur was besieged by Mokum Chund and taken, and the fort of Philour fully garrisoned bv the Dewan. Nidhan Singh, son of Jye Singh, a man of very intemperate habits, and incapable of managing his affairs, being imprisoned, Hajeepore and Saeen in the Jalindhur were taken from him, and several other villages bestowed in jagheer; he was afterwards released and lived with his mother Raj Koonwur, the widow of the great Jye Singh, Ghuneeya.

Nidhan Singh imprisoned.

Khurruk Singh married.

In the course of this year, the marriage of Khurruk Singh, with Chund Koonwur, the daughter of Juemul Singh, Ghuneeya, was celebrated with great splendour, and Sir David Ochterlony honoured the nuptials with his presence. Two lakhs of rupees were expended on this occasion by the Maharajah.

1869 Bik. 1812 A.D. Koolloo, Sookhet, and Mundhee become tributary.

In the month of Bysakh (April) 1812, the Maharajah sent Mokhum Chund to take possession of Koolloo and Sookhet. Both the rajahs of Koolloo, Mundhee and Sookhet, with several others in the hill provinces became tributaries of Lahore, and presented a nuzurana of one lakh and ninety thousand rupees. During this year, Bhaee Ram Singh, who was the Pesh-kar of Khurruk Singh, received Jummoo in jagheer; and he was sent against

Sooltan Khan, of Bhember, who had rebelled. There was an obstinate fight, and the Sikhs were routed and lost great numbers in killed and wounded. Mokhum Chund was sent to take the chief command; and by his successful efforts, peace was established, and Sooltan Khan induced to accompany him to Lahore, where he visited the Maharajah, was imprisoned by the latter, and kept in confinement for the space of six years. He was afterwards sent to Jummoo, and remained a prisoner with Goolab Singh until the day of his death.

The Sikhs routed at Bhember.

In 1812 Futteh Khan, with a view of conquering Cashmere, which was governed by Atta Mohummud, the son of Shere Mohummud, left Peshawur and crossed the Attock; from thence, he sent an ambassador to the Maharajah, asking for his aid in the conquest of Cashmere. On this, the Maharajah collected a large army, containing numerous sirdars, and the chief command was bestowed on Mokhum Chund. This army was sent to aid Futteh Khan. Cashmere was conquered, and Atta Mohummud driven out of the city. It is said that the wife of Shah Soojah Ool Moolk, usually styled the wufu Begum, offered Mokhum Chund the *Koh-i-noor** if he would release her husband, who was then a prisoner to Atta Mohummud. The Dewan released the Shah, and took him back along with him to Lahore. When the brother of Atta

Futteh Khan asks aid against Cashmere.

It is conquered.

* The precious diamond styled the "mountain of light," now in the possession of Dhuleep Singh. The Maharajah wanted to bestow it on the temple of Juggernath. *Vide* Steinbach's "Punjab."

Mohummud heard of the capture of Cashmere, he wrote a letter to the Maharajah requesting the province of Attock in jagheer. On receiving this request, Azeezoodeen was despatched to Attock, where he received Atta Mohummud's brother with great kindness and distinction, and put him in possession of Wuzeerabad. When Shah Soojah and his Begum reached Lahore, the Maharajah demanded the *Koh-i-noor* from the latter, but she refused to fulfil her promise, and the Maharajah imprisoned the Ex-King, and at length obtained it.

Runjeet obtains the Koh-i-noor.

Shah Soojah escapes from Lahore.

In the course of the year, 1812, Shah Soojah Ool Moolk escaped from Lahore to Rajouree in the hills, and from thence to Loodianah, after suffering great privations.*

Futteh Khan attacks Attock.

In 1813, there was a famine in the Punjab, and Futteh Khan, collecting a large army, made an attempt on Attock. On hearing this, the Maharajah lost no time in going to meet him. When the two armies were separated about eight miles, they began to skirmish, without coming to any decided engagement. In the month of Asar (June), when the weather had become oppressively hot, the Sikh army advanced under Mokhum Chund; and on the second day a great battle took place. The Pathans were taken by surprise and completely

The Pathans vanquished by Mokhum Chund.

* Another account states, that the Ex-King made his escape direct to Loodianah by means of an accomplice, who effected his release from the house in which he was confined, and placed horses for him on the road to Loodianah. Others say that he was obliged to escape through a sewer or drain.

routed and dispersed, fighting with each other in the confusion that ensued. A party of Ghazeeas, however, who were better mounted than the rest, attacked the Sikh guns, and drove the gunners from them; but they were speedily overpowered, the guns retaken, and the whole party cut to pieces. Futteh Khan made his escape, and recrossed the Attock. All his camp fell into the hands of the Sikhs. In the month of Sawun (July), the Maharajah returned to Lahore.

The Pathans dread the Sikhs.

After this first decided and great victory over the Pathans, the latter became afraid of the Sikhs. On reaching Lahore, the Maharajah caused the city to be illuminated, as well as Umritsir, and other large cities such as Wittala. Two months were spent in rejoicings at the success of the Sikhs against the Pathans. In the month of Asun (September), the Maharajah wished to visit Attock, with a view of still further intimidating the Pathans.

Illumination at Lahore and other places.

The Maharajah visits Juwala Mookhee.

The Maharajah took the road by Kote Kangra, sending his army direct to the Jelum. He offered presents at Juwala Mookhee, and worshipped there, exacting tribute from the rajah. He then proceeded by the foot of the hills to Jelum. Here he mustered his troops,* and marched to Attock.

Examines the fort of Attock.

Having examined all the buildings in the fort, the Maharajah was very much pleased with them.

* Named "Muojudat" in the language of the natives.

He remained for some time at the place, and then returned to Lahore, leaving Mokhum Chund to settle the country about Attock; after which the Dewan also went to Lahore.

Determines on the conquest of Cashmere.

In the year, Bik. 1871, or A.D. 1814, the Maharajah determined on making a complete conquest of Cashmere; and with this view, summoned all the hill sirdars, as well as those of the plains, and assembled the whole at Sealkote. Thither the Maharajah proceeded in person, and inspected his force. He sent Mokhum Chund back to Lahore to govern in his absence; and he himself, with his whole force, proceeded towards Cashmere. On reaching Rajouree he encamped in the Shah bagh,* and summoned the Rajah Agheer Khan to his presence. By the advice of this man, Ghuosee Khan, commandant of artillery, Meth Singh, Dyal Singh, nephew to Mokhum Chund, and several other sirdars, were sent forward by the route of Byram Gulleh. The Maharajah took the road by Poonch, and the hill soldiers accompanied him. The sirdars crossed the Peer Pinjal, and reached Cashmere, where Azeem Khan proposed to meet them. A battle ensued, and Jewun Mul, commandant of Khurruk Singh's troops, led the van, and boldly engaged the Khan. At this juncture, a storm of snow took place; and the Sikhs being wholly unaccustomed to such an occurrence, and their feet and hands becoming cold, they could make no

A force sent in advance by Byram Gulleh.

A snow storm, disastrous to the Sikhs.

* King's garden.

stand, and the cavalry of Azeem Khan coming up, the Sikh infantry was completely routed, and many were killed; among the rest, the gallant Jewun Mul and numerous sirdars; the rest fled in all directions. The ensuing night witnessed the Sikhs in a sad plight, running and wandering about the snow-clad hills and valleys of Cashmere.* The wounded men collected round the tent of Ram Dyal, who retired to a village in the vicinity of Sreenuggur.† Those who fled, collected in the hill-pass of Ram Gulleh. At the latter place, Bhaee Ram Singh was stationed with 4,000 men, and a supply of provisions; but hearing of the defeat of the Sikhs, he fled to Rajouree. The Maharajah, who was at Poonch, was told that he could not cross the hills to Cashmere, and was advised to return to Lahore. Hearing of the signal defeat of his troops, the Maharajah marched back to Lahore.‡ In the retreat of the Sikhs from Cashmere, the people hurled stones against them, by which many were killed; among the rest, Meth Singh. From Poonch, the Maharajah marched to Meerpore, and from thence to the Punjab. Azeezooden was despatched to a hill Ranee, and by flattery and smooth words, which the fukeer knew well how to employ, he obtained her assistance in keeping

The Sikhs put to flight and dispersed.

Many Sikhs killed in their retreat.

* The Maharajah used to express a horror of Cashmere from its snow and cold, and wondered how any English traveller should wish to visit such a place.

† The capital of Cashmere.

‡ This disaster was a sore subject with the Maharajah, and he never touched on it without denouncing Cashmere as a vile place.

the road clear. The Maharajah's troops were terribly harassed, and many of them disabled; for the Wuzeer Roohoola, governor of Poonch, had blocked up the road, and cut off many of the Sikhs. On the second day, Azeem Khan pursued Ram Dyal and surrounded him. The latter, hearing of the departure of the Maharajah, made but a slight resistance, and concluded a peace, and thus escaped. Crossing the Peer Pinjal, he effected a junction with Bhaee Ram Singh, and their united forces at length reached Lahore. The Maharajah, though sorely vexed at the unsuccessful attempt, was yet rejoiced at their return, and made presents to the brahmins and fukeers. In the same year, (1814) Mokhum Chund died at Phillour on the Sutlej, and his tomb was erected in a garden at that place. The Dewan was a man of the greatest military tact, and had always been successful in the various important commands bestowed on him by the Maharajah. His son Motee Ram succeeded him as Dewan, and held possession of all his extensive lands. An army was now sent to seize Phoola Singh, Ukalee. This man had been joined by Nebal Singh, Attareewala, and raised a great disturbance; but was at length captured, and brought a prisoner to Lahore. In the month of Magh* (January), Ram Dyal was sent to exact tribute at

Azeem Khan surrounds Ram Dyal, who concludes a peace.

Death of Mokhum Chund.

His son Motee Ram succeeds him.

Phoola Singh, Ukalee, seized.

* This month answers to our January; but is not, like it, the first month of the Hindoo year; and this causes confusion in dates, for though the time here mentioned is designated by January, 1815, yet it is, in fact, the ninth month of the year 1781, Bikermajeet, corresponding to A.D. 1814.

Khana Kutchwa. He arrived in the Bhawalpore territory, where he was met by a vakeel from Bhahawul Khan. At this time, Futteh Khan and Mohummud Shah were in Scinde; but on receiving a nuzurana of three lakhs of rupees, they agreed to return. The Maharajah dispatched Motee Ram and Azeezoodeen with 2,000 foot towards Bhawulpore; this force was accompanied by a portion of artillery. They joined an army under Bhaee Ram Singh. About the same time, the commandant of Attock, collecting an army, attacked and plundered Peshawur; but the governor sending a force against the Sikhs, the latter fled, and many of them were killed.

Futteh Khan and Mohummud Shah retire from Scinde.

Sikhs repulsed at Peshawur.

When the Maharajah heard the news, he was sorely vexed and annoyed, and replaced the commandant of Attock by Hookma Singh, Chumnee, who was sent with 2000 horsemen to take possession of the fort, and assume command of it. Several sirdars fell in the disastrous attempt on Peshawur, which took place in the year A.D. 1815.

Hookma Singh appointed to Attock.

In the same year, the Maharajah went to Noorpoor, and sent Dewan Bhowanee Dass and Desa Singh, Majeetheea, to extort tribute from the rajahs of Koolloo and Mundhee. In the month of Bhadun (August) Johd Singh Ramghureea died, and his son was made to pay a nuzurana of 50,000 rupees. The rajah of Noorpoor was imprisoned, and his country taken possession of by Runjeet Singh. After some months, the rajah made his escape to Chumpal. In Koowar, (September) the Maha-

The Maharajah goes to Noorpoor.

The rajah imprisoned, but escapes.

Runjeet proceeds to punish Agheer Khan.

rajah, with a view of punishing Agheer Khan, arrived at Bhember; and from thence despatched a large army, under Ram Dyal and Dul Singh, against Rajour.

Rajour taken by the Sikhs.

After marching for ten days, and pillaging as it went, this force reached Rajour, and besieged the city. After defending it for three or four days, the rajah escaped to the fastnesses of the hills, and

The city pillaged and destroyed.

concealed himself there. On finding the city deserted, the Sikhs pillaged, and afterwards burned it. The rajah's house was thrown down, and also the walls of the city. His whole country was laid waste, after which, the Maharajah leaving it, and taking the road by the foot of the hills, arrived at the Jelum. He ordered Dul Singh, Ram Dyal, and Dewan Singh, Ramghurreea, to proceed against Rhotas, and he himself returned to Lahore.

Futteh Khan seizes on Cashmere

In the course of this year, (1816) Futteh Khan having crossed the Attock, proceeded by the route of Puklee and Dumdour to Cashmere; and there defeating his brother Azim Khan, assumed the government of the country, receiving the revenues from his vanquished brother. In the month of

Runjeet proceeds to Mooltan.

Bhadun (August) the Maharajah set out for Mooltan. Leaving Umritsir, he took the road through the Manja country, which was infested by robbers. These he forbid carrying on their nefarious pratices, while he imposed fines on some, and enlisted great numbers in his service. From thence, he proceeded

Gets 1000 camels in the Bhur country.

to the Bhur country, and there received one thousand camels as a nuzurana. Having arrived at the distance of fifteen miles from Mooltan, he encamped at the river Tommin, or three streams. Though

the governor wished to oppose him, yet the wretched state of the country was such as to render this impossible; and he therefore offered a nuzurana, which was accepted. The governor of Nunkheree also paid a nuzurana. The Maharajah returned to Lahore, and sent some troops to imprison the zemindars of Jungewal and seize their country. Soojan Rao was left to settle the country and revenues; and Ram Dyal went with a force to the Attock, in order to aid Hookma Singh, Chimmee, commandant of that fortress, in settling the country. On reaching Attock, Ram Dyal despatched a force against Mohummud Khan, the zemindar of Dheree; who, unable to make any resistance, fled to the hills, and there concealed himself. The Sikhs took possession of his fort, and after a short time returned to their camp. On their way back they were attacked suddenly by the Pathans, who had concealed themselves for this purpose, and great numbers of the Sikhs were slain. After two or three days Ram Dyal reached Kala-ka-serai and was ordered to remain there until Futteh Khan should leave Cashmere and cross the Attock. In the month of Asar (June) the rajah of Noorpoor collecting his scattered troops, made a sudden attack on the place, but could make no impression upon it; and crossing the Sutlej, he took refuge in the territory of Hindour.*

The governor of Mooltan pays a nuzurana.

Troops sent against a Pathan zemindar.

Sikhs attacked by the Pathans.

The rajah of Noorpoor makes an attempt to regain his country, but fails.

* It is said that this rajah, whose name was Bheer Singh, kept twelve men dressed so like himself, that they could not be distinguished from him at a distance.

The Maharajah visits Kote Kangra.

In the month of Koowar (September) the Maharajah went to Kote Kangra and Jawala Moodhee; where he remained for two months, receiving tribute from the rajahs of Koolloo, Numdhee, and Sookhet.

Hearing that the successors of Jodh Singh, Ramghureea, were quarrelling among themselves, he sent for, and imprisoned them, and on his return from the hills destroyed all their forts. He besieged the Ramghureea fort at Umritsir, which he took in two days, and then went to Lahore; and for the purpose of settling the Ramghureea Missul, he appointed Mooroodeen, the brother of Azeezoodeen, to this important charge. Nooroodeen went to Rahela* on the bank of the Beas. The lands of the Missul were divided into three portions. One belonged to the government of Lahore, these were the crown lands; another was bestowed in jagheer; while the third was given to fukeers. The author† to whom we are indebted for these particulars regarding the life of Runjeet Singh, went, at this time, from Wittala to Lahore, where he remained for two months.

Nooroodeen appointed to settle the Ramghureea Missul.

Another attempt on Mooltan.

In the cold weather, Bhowanee Dass, Peshawuree, Hurree Singh, Nulwa, and other sirdars, with a large army, were sent against Mooltan, while Dewan Chund, commandant of artillery, followed, and joined them with a large number of guns. After receiving

* This fort was built by Gooroo Hur Govind, and is sometimes named Siree Hurgovind Pooreea.

† Synd Uhmud Shah.

tribute and a nuzurana from the governor of Munkheree, the whole force proceeded towards Mooltan, and besieged that strong fort; but the governor Moozuffur Khan made a gallant defence, and the Sikhs were obliged to raise the siege. On this army reaching Lahore, the Maharajah imprisoned Bhowanee Dass, after fining him 10,000 rupees. Unsuccessful.

In the month Bysakh,* (April) Bik, 1874, or A.D. 1817, the Maharajah went to Deenanuggur.† at the hills, and remained there two months. He exacted tribute from the rajah; and being in bad health, he went through a course of medicine, and afterwards embarked on the Ravee for Lahore. At the end of the year, Bhaee Khooshyal Singh gave up his appointment of Chamberlain, (Deoree) and Dhyan Singh of Jummoo succeeded him. In the month of Magh, (January) the Maharajah determined on taking Mooltan. The Maharajah goes to Deenanuggur. Dhyan Singh succeeds Khooshyal Singh.

He collected all his sirdars and soldiers, and sent them to that country. The fort of Moozuffurghur was besieged and taken; from thence the force proceeded to Mooltan. Khurruk Singh and Dewan Motee Ram, bringing fresh troops, joined the army, and the siege of Mooltan was begun. The Dewan Motee Chund commanded the whole force. On the 1st of Phagun, (February) the siege was carried on with great vigour, and Moozuffur Khan defended himself with great bravery. Breaches were made in the walls of the city, of Runject is determined on taking Mooltan.

* This is the first month of the Hindoo year.

† This was the favourite abode of Runjeet Singh during the hot months.

which the Sikhs took possession after a severe fight; but the siege of the fort lasted for three months, when the Maharajah determined to proceed in person; and with this view, encamped at the Shalamar gardens. He sent daily expresses, urging the siege to be continued. The well-known hatred existing between the Sikhs and Mussulmans rendered the engagement of the fiercest kind on both sides. The Sikhs entrenched themselves outside the ditch, and approached close to the latter; the Mussulmans made sorties, and frequent desperate fights took place. The number and size of the Sikh guns, at length, effected practicable breaches in the walls of the fort, and on the 18th of Jeth, (May) a desperate attack was made on the fort by the Sikhs. Moozuffur Khan and his two sons fought in the most gallant manner in defending the breaches, and many were killed on both sides. At length, the Sikhs made good their entrance; but still the struggle inside was desperate. The Pathans fought hand to hand, with the Khalsa troops. The latter were at last victorious, and pillaged the fort, where they found great quantities of money, clothes, and other valuable articles. As a last effort, Moozuffur Khan, arming himself and his followers, rushed out of the citadel on the assailants, cut his way through them, and reached the tomb of Bhawul Huk, and prepared for battle afresh. Moozuffur Khan fought desperately; but was slain, after receiving repeated wounds. Several of his sons likewise fell, and one of his daugh-

The siege of Mooltan.

Is taken by the Sikhs.

Desperate resistance of Moozuffur Khan.

ters. For three days, the pillage continued. After this, a guard was placed over the fort, and a thannah established by the Sikh sirdars. The breaches in the walls were speedily repaired, 400 or 500 houses in the fort were destroyed, and the city itself rebuilt. The fort of Soojeeabad was also captured, and the Sikh army returned to Lahore in the beginning of Asun, (September) and the Maharajah ordered Dul Singh, Nukernee,* Jodh Singh, Kulsee, Dena Singh, and several other sirdars, to Mooltan. Surfuraz Khan, a son of Moozuffur Khan, came to Lahore with his whole family, and received a maintenance from the Maharajah, and also a jagheer. The latter was afterwards confiscated, but the allowance continued.

Fort repaired, and city rebuilt.

* A name derived from his original employment of cutting toe-nails. (nakoon.)

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MAHARAJAH CROSSES THE ATTOCK.

A.D. 1818.

HAVING made himself master of Mooltan, the Maharajah was desirous of seizing on Peshawur, more particularly as the Sikhs had met with a signal reverse at that place. At this juncture, the wuzeer, Futteh Khan, who, by his bravery and talents had supported Mahmood on the throne of Cabul, and made the Scindians pay tribute, as well as conquered Cashmere, was made prisoner by Kamran, who put out his eyes. This cruel act was said to have been perpetrated by Prince Kamran without his father's knowledge; and there appears to be reason for believing that jealousy alone was the motive that urged the son to remove a man who had, no doubt, great influence; but the latter was exerted in maintaining Mahmood on the throne, which he otherwise had not the ability to fill.

Runjeet Singh meditates the conquest of Peshawur.

Cruel behaviour of Kamran to Futteh Khan.

When the brothers of Futteh Khan heard of the cruelty practised on him, and his death, which

speedily followed the inhuman act of blinding him, they one and all raised the standard of revolt against Mahmood. He was displaced; and Ayooh, the son of Timoor Shah, was put on the throne of Cabul.

Mahmood displaced. Ayooh appointed king.

On learning the tumult and confusion caused by this event, Runjeet Singh conceived that the opportunity was a fitting one for putting his design on Peshawur into execution. He accordingly left Lahore, and crossed the Attock, but was opposed by Feeroz Khan, Hajeehoolah Khan, and other zemindars. The Maharajah overcame these, and reached Peshawur. He did not pillage the city, but destroyed the village of Chumkunee, the residence of Sheikh Oonur. Having taken possession of the city, and after remaining in it for the space of two days, the Maharajah left Juhan Dod Khan, the brother of Attar Mohummud, in charge of Peshawur, and departed for Lahore. He crossed the river, and reached Attock, with fourteen guns, which he had captured at Peshawur. From thence he proceeded to Lahore; but he had only accomplished three or four marches across the river, when the tidings were brought him, that Yarmohummud had returned to Peshawur, and expelled Juhan Dod Khan, who joined the Maharajah in the month of Poos, or December. After bathing in the spring of Katas, the Maharajah at length reached Lahore.

The Maharajah proceeds against Peshawur.

Takes possession of it.

Juhan Dod Khan, the governor appointed by him, is expelled.

At this time, Shah Soojah Oolmoolk, the ex-king of Cabul, had proceeded as far as Dhera

Shah Soojah advances on Peshawur.

Ghazee Khan; and collecting some troops there, aided by Sadik Khan of Bhawulpore, advanced as far as Peshawur, and took that place. The brothers of Futteh Khan, amounting to twenty-two,* wrote to Azeem Khan, the governor of Cashmere, for his aid, and sent Jubbar Khan to that country. Azeem Khan, taking all his treasure with him, reached Peshawur, and a battle took place between him and Shah Sojah; in which the latter was defeated, and fled to Loodianah, where he had received a safe asylum, since his escape from Lahore in 1812. Azeem Khan took possession of the city.

Is driven out of it by Azeem Khan, and returns to Loodianah.

Runjeet determines on the conquest of Cashmere.

When the Maharajah heard of the departure of Azeem Khan from Cashmere, and his arrival at Peshawur, he determined on the complete conquest of the former. He sent Dewan Chund ahead, with the army and artillery, and he himself followed. He reached Wuzeerabad and encamped there, and assembled his whole troops, which he despatched towards the hills, under the command of Dewan Chund. The latter having passed Bhember and Ulleekote, reached the city of Rajour; and Agheer Khan, the rajah of that place, fled on his approach; and his brother Ruheem Aolah Khan joined the Sikhs, and was sent by Dewan Chund to the Maharajah, at Wuzeerabad, by whom he was made a rajah.

Dewan Chund reaches Rajour; Buheem Oola Khan joins him.

Runjeet Singh knew from experience the dis-

* Prinsep states them at fifty,

advantage of going against Cashmere in the cold months, when snow was likely to fall, and he now wisely chose the commencement of the hot weather for the prosecution of his design, and left Wuzeerabad in the month Jeth, (May) 1819. He arrived at Rajour, and encamped, as before, in the Shahbajh. The army having passed the Peer Pinjal, reached Cashmere, and Jubbar Khan collecting troops prepared to meet the Sikhs. A battle ensued; and Jubbar Khan being wounded, he and his troops fled towards the capital, Sreenuggur, and from thence to Bhember, and eventually reached Peshawur. The Sikhs took possession of the Khan's camp, shawls and other articles; on the following day, Dewan Chund, Rajah Ruheem, Oolah Khan, and other sirdars, entered the city, and stopped the pillage which the Siks, according to their invariable practice, had already commenced.

Runjeet proceeds to Rajour.

Jubbar Khan is routed.

His camp taken by the Sikhs.

The pillage of the city prevented.

The Maharajah, on receiving the joyful tidings of the capture of Cashmere, was greatly rejoiced; and his revenues were much increased, by the subjugation of this fertile and important province.

Cashmere was taken on the 22nd Assar, (June) 1819, or Bikermajeet 1876. On the 5th Sawun, (July) Motee Ram was appointed governor of the province, and on the 10th of the same month the Maharajah left Rajouree for Lahore. On reaching his capital, Ram Dyal was ordered with an army against Poonch, in order to bring the rajah Zubbur Dest Khan into subjection. When the rajah saw

The Maharajah returns to Lahore.

that he could offer no resistance to the Sikhs under Ram Dyal, he despatched his son to the Maharajah; and all the zemindars in the direction of Cashmere, likewise presented themselves. On this occasion, the Maharajah received fifty-three lakhs of rupees from these hill provinces, besides ten lakhs brought him by Juwabir Noul Pundit.

The hill zemindars pay tribute.

Misir Dewan Chund having settled the country, left Motee Ram in charge of Cashmere; and reaching Lahore, in Koowar, (September) he received great honours and riches from his master.

In the same month he celebrated, as usual, the feast of the Dusserah; after which he collected a large army intended for Peshawur, and encamped on the right bank of the Ravee. Here Misr Dewan Chund represented to the Maharajah, that the troops after their fatigue and privations in the hills, were, as yet, unable to proceed on such an important campaign, and recommended that they should be allowed to remain at Lahore until the month of Magh (January). To this proposal the Maharajah readily agreed and returned to Lahore.

The Maharajah collects an army for Peshawur.

Delays its departure.

In the month of January, 1819, Hurree Singh, Nulma, and Dewan Bhowanee Dass were sent against the fort of Derbund and took it, seizing the Khan, and placing their own thannah in the place.

Derbund seized.

On the 25th of the same month the Maharajah left Lahore, and in ten days reached Chumeeote, and there encamped. From this he despached Shere Singh, Ram Dyal, Sham Singh, Attareewala,

The Maharajah leaves Lahore.

Goormukh Singh, Lama Futteh Singh, Alloowalya, and Suda Koonwur, to Paklee, Dhumdour, Chuchnuzara, Turbela, and other places, for the purpose of settling the revenue and receiving tribute; while Misr Dewan Chund was sent with the artillery to Munkheree, to exact a nuzurana from the governor of that place. The Maharajah, with his cavalry, took the road to Mooltan, for the purpose of seizing it; and he there celebrated the Hooly festival. He settled the revenues of the country, and displacing Sham Singh, Peshawuree, Sawun Mul was appointed governor of Mooltan. The vakeel of Sadik Khan of Bhawulpore arrived, and agreed to give up the revenue of Dhera Ghazee Khan. Bhaee Khooshyal Singh was sent with an army in that direction. He took the fort and received five and a-half lakhs of revenue. The Maharajah in the beginning of Cheth (March) returned to Lahore; and Misr Dewan Chund, after exacting a lakh and 80,000 rupees from the governor of Munkheree, also reached Lahore. Ram Dyal, who went against Chuchbazara, was killed; and other sirdars fell. The force was broken up, after receiving a small tribute from Mohummud Khan.

Sawun Mul appointed governor of Mooltan.

Dhera Ghazee Khan taken.

Ram Dyal killed.

In the year 1877 Bik. or A.D. 1820, Shere Singh and the other sirdars returned to Lahore. In the month of Koowar (September) the Maharajah went to Wittala, and remained there a month.

He now resolved to take Suda Koonwur's country, but did not settle the matter. After the

Dusserah, he departed and reached Sealkote; and taking the pergunnah of Kulanoor from Khurruk Singh, he bestowed it on Nuzur Hussein. Hurree Singh, Nulwa, having been appointed governor of Cashmere, in the room of Motee Ram, the latter arrived at Sealkote. Leaving this, the Maharajah crossed the Chenab; and skirting the foot of the hills, he punished the Ohib and Bhaoo, who were thieves and robbers, and he burned Dewawittala, their chief city. From thence he reached the Jelum, and crossed it. He here mustered his troops. He sent Nanuk Chund, Dufturee* to settle the revenues of Puklee and Dhundour; and Bhowanee Dass was sent on the same errand to Kooloo and Mundhee.

The Maharajah proceeds to the Jelum.

Goolab Singh and Juggut Singh, Attareewala, were sent to settle disturbances raised at Jummoo by Deedoo, Rajpoot. In the engagement, the two sons of the latter were killed, and the third was seized and sent to the Maharajah.

After this, Goolab Singh and Juggut Singh were sent in search of Agheer Khan, of Rajouree, who had fled and concealed himself in the hills. He was, at length, captured and brought to Lahore, where he died.

Misr Dewan Chund, Motee Ram, and the Attareewalya sirdar were sent to punish the zemindars of Poonch, Khookee, and Bhember; those of the two latter places inhabiting opposite banks of the Jelum,

* A clerk or secretary.

in Cashmere. Dewan Chund reached Meerpore, and laid waste the country; while Motee Ram and the Attareewala seized some of the Khukeea tribe, others fled to the hills and concealed themselves.

Nonehal Singh born.

In the month of Phagoon, (February) 1821, a son was born to Khurruk Singh; he was named Nonehal Singh. In Bysakh, (April) the Maharajah went to Deenanuggur, and remained there a month, returning in Asar (June) to Lahore. He now resolved on taking Munkheree, and for this purpose sent Khurruk Singh with an army, and Motee Ram and the Alloowalya forces accompanied him. On arriving within ten or twelve kos of Munkheree, Khurruk Singh encamped; and the Nuwab sent a vakeel with a promise of 80,000 rupees, and security for its payment.

Khurruk Singh sent against Munkheree.

Suda Koonwur imprisoned, and all her possessions confiscated.

In the month Koowar, (September) the Maharajah, by the advice of Khurruk Singh, and Luckee Singh, Dewan, imprisoned his mother-in-law, Suda Koonwur, at Umritsir; and confiscated all her possessions. Desa Singh seized on all her forts without opposition, except Atulghur, which made a strong defence; but was besieged and taken by Misr Dewan Chund. Desa Singh subdued her whole country, and brought Suda Koonwur along with him to Umritsir, where, as above stated, she was imprisoned.

Thus, after an almost unlimited control for twenty years over Runjeet Singh, was this artful and ambitious woman punished. But for the instigation of others, however, it is doubtful, if the Maha-

rajah would have come to a decision which he had often revolved in his own mind.

In the month of Magh (January) 1822, the Maharajah determined to proceed to Munkheree for the purpose of taking it. He laid siege to that place; but, there being a scarcity of water, the Maharajah caused twenty wells to be dug in one day, from which he supplied his troops. In the space of fifteen days the fort was hard pressed, and the governor capitulated for a jagheer. To this the Maharajah agreed; and bestowed on him Dhera Ismael Kan, in jagheer, allowing him at the same time, to carry away all his grain. Next day the governor departed, leaving Munkheree in the Mahajarah's possessions. Leaving some sirdars to govern the place, the Maharajah departed for Lahore, where he arrived, and again appointed Motee Ram, governor of Cashmere. Hurree Singh, Nulwa, on resigning his appointment was ordered to settle Puklee and Dhundour, and receive both places in jagheer. Dewan Chund was sent to assist him; but when they could not effect their purpose, they both returned to Lahore.

Takes Munkheree.

In the course of the year 1879 Bik. or A.D. 1822, two European gentlemen arrived in the Punjab, and were received into the service of the Maharajah. These were M. M. Allard and Ventura. The former received a command in the cavalry, while Ventura was appointed to the infantry. Their annual salary was fixed at 50,000 rupees. They were both expert soldiers, and very submissive and

M. M. Allard and Ventura reach the Punjab.

Their salary.

obedient to the Maharajah. They erected a large house outside the city of Lahore, near Wuzeer Khan's garden, and constructed a bazaar. In thus obtaining the services of two European military men, Runjeet Singh was enabled to follow out his plan of disciplining his soldiers after the European system; a project which he had been obliged to postpone, but had never abandoned since the time when Metcalfe's escort had beaten the rabble of Ukalees at Umritsir in 1809. Runjeet Singh could not have chosen two men better adapted for fulfilling his wishes or two who evinced more zeal in the discharge of their duties than M. M. Allard and Ventura. It is to the exertions of these gentlemen, and to Monsieur Court, who afterwards joined him, that the Sikh army owed its high state of discipline. The services of M. M. Ventura and Court were of longer duration than those of Monsieur Allard: and the consequence has been, that while the Sikh cavalry have deteriorated, and forgotten the lessons of their able instructor; the artillery and infantry, particularly the former, have given sufficient proof of the value of the services of Court and Ventura.* Eminent services.

In the course of this year, it was resolved to build a wall round Lahore; but in the month of

* Now, that the disciplined force of the Sikhs is broken, and their guns captured, it is a prudent clause in the treaty between the British government and that of Lahore, that "no European or American shall be allowed to enter the service of the latter without the permission of the British."

The Maharajah goes to Rawul Pindee.

Koowur, (September) the Maharajah went to Rawul Pindee, and there the governor of Peshawur's vakeel, presented him with a nuzurana; after this the Maharajah returned to Lahore.

At this time, news was brought the Maharajah, that Dost Mohummud Khan, of Cabul, possessed a beautiful horse; and the Maharajah being doatingly fond of horses, determined to secure the animal at any price. Shere Singh, was accordingly despatched with 8,000 cavalry, with orders to cross the Attock, and bring the horse at all risks.

Is determined to secure the famous horse "Lylee."

On reaching Attock, by the advice of Uttur Singh, Hurree Singh, and Kerpa Ram, he crossed the river, and laid siege to the fort of Jehanjeerka. A battle ensued, and the Pathans having no leaders, became alarmed, and fled during the fight, deserting the fort, which was taken possession of by the Sikhs.

Pathans defeated.

Azeem Khan was at Cabul, and hearing of the advance of the Sikhs set out for Peshawur, and there collected an army. The Sikhs seeing that they could not oppose Azeem Khan, halted; and wrote to the Maharajah for assistance, without which they could not advance. The Maharajah, in Phagoon, (February) left Lahore, and arrived at Wuzeerabad. From thence, he sent forward Khurruk Singh and Dewan Chund. He, himself followed, and reached the fort of Rhotas. Here he spent the Hooly Festival; and then by regular marches reached the Attock. Having constructed bridges of boats, he crossed the river.

Azeem Khan prepared to meet the Sikhs.

The Maharajah sets out to assist Shere Singh.

Azeem Khan, with his brothers Dost Mohummud, Yar Mohummud, and Jubbar Khan, collected an army, and prepared to meet the Sikhs. Many Ghazeeas* joined the sirdars, who resolved to wage war against the infidel Sikhs.

A battle ensues, in which the Sikhs, at first, give way.

The battle which ensued was a fierce one. Azeem Khan directed his forces against Shere Singh, while the Ghazeeas fought against the Maharajah. Some of these people were armed with swords and shields, but many of them threw stones, and other missiles. Their attack was furious, and the Sikhs began to give way. The Maharajah observing this, rallied his troops, and great slaughter took place on both sides. Phoola Singh, Ukalee, who fought on an elephant, was killed; also sirdars Goolab Singh, Kurrum Singh, the commandant of the Goorkha battalion, and many others. The Ghazeeas, though thus fighting in the fiercest manner, were unsupported from behind; and the Sikh guns playing on them in front, they were slaughtered in great numbers, to the extent of 10,000 men. On this, Azeem Khan became alarmed, and fled with about 10,000 men more. After defeating the Mussulmans, the Maharajah proceeded against the fort of Hushtunggeer, and took it; after which he marched to Peshawur. The Sikhs began to pillage the city, but this was stopped by the Maharajah.

Are rallied by the Maharajah.

Several sirdars killed.

The Affghans vanquished.

The Sikhs enter Peshawur.

After a stay of some days, and seeing that the place could be retained with difficulty, he made a

* Ghaza means an expedition against the infidels, and the term Ghazee is applied to those people who fight for their religion to the death.

A treaty concluded with Azeem Khan.

treaty with Azeem Khan, who presented a nuzurana, and a number of horses. The Maharajah then departed for Lahore.

The latter dies.

Azeem Khan ashamed of not having supported the Ghazeeas, died of grief.

In Jeth, (May) Bik. 1880, or A.D. 1823, the Maharajah came to Umritsir, and from thence went by Wittala to Deenanuggur, where he remained for two months, and returned to Lahore in July, on the setting in of the rains.

In Koowar, (September) after the Dusserah, he left Lahore, and took the road to Wuzeerabad and Goojrat. He crossed the river near Dhera Ghazee Khan, and exacted three lakhs of rupees from the zemindars. Kerpa Ram was sent against Uzzul Khan, while the Maharajah returned to Lahore; and Kerpa Ram having subdued the country, and seized Uzzul Khan and his son, proceeded with them to Lahore.

Tribute exacted from the zemindars of Dhera Ghazee Khan.

Uzzul Khan seized.

Saduk Khan agrees to pay for the conquered districts.

At this juncture, the vakeel of Saduk Khan of Bhawalpore arrived, and requested the restoration of his conquered districts, agreeing to pay a nuzurana of one lakh and 80,000 rupees. This proposal was agreed to.

A rich shroff's wealth seized by the Maharajah, with which he builds a wall about Lahore.

In the course of this year, Ramanund, a wealthy shroff, died at Umritsir; and leaving no heir, the Maharajah seized eight lakhs of his rupees, namely, four from his widow, and four from Poldmul of Fugwarrah, the brother of Dunee Rao of Loodianah. Having obtained this money, the Maharajah resolved to build a wall around Lahore. There

were an inner and outer wall, with a ditch, and twelve doors or gates. The extent of the outer wall was 5100 paces, its height seventy-five feet, and breadth twenty-one feet.

Sunsar Chund dies.

In the month of Bysakh, (April) Bik. 1881, or A.D. 1824, Sunsar Chund of Kutoch died. The Maharajah hearing of the event, left Umritsir, and taking the road by Wittala, arrived at Deenanuggur, and sent for the son of the deceased Rajah, who, after paying a nuzurana, was honoured with a khillut, and appointed successor to his father.

Succeeded by his son.

Motee Ram and Kerpa Ram incur the Maharajah's displeasure.

In the course of this year, Motee Ram, and his son Kerpa Ram, incurred the displeasure of the Maharajah on the following account. Govind Chund, the uncle of the Seepreewala, gave his daughter in marriage to Dhyan Singh; and the latter receiving the fort of Seepree, expelled Kerpa Ram, who was greatly enraged, and absented himself from the Dusserah, refusing to serve the Maharajah. Soon after this, the Maharajah marched towards the Attock, and remained several days on the bank of the river; at length, he crossed on an elephant, and many sirdars and others, trying to follow him, were drowned, both horse and foot. Among the rest, Moolvee Musur Hussem.

The Maharajah crosses the Attock on an elephant.

Is joined by Kerpa Ram.

Kerpa Ram, at this time leaving Phillour with twenty-five horsemen, reached the Attock, and crossing it, joined the Maharajah, who was greatly enraged, and ordered him from his presence, sending a purwannah at the same time to deprive his father, Motee Ram, of the governorship of Cash-

mere; to which Chunnee Lall, Pathan, and Nehal Singh, commandant, were appointed. Motee Ram, taking the son of Sooltan Ullee with him, proceeded by the Baramoolah pass, to join the Maharajah. On reaching Sola Ka Serai, he received a purwannah to remain there until the Maharajah's return. After laying waste the Yoosoofzye country, Bunnoo, and receiving a nuzurana from the governor of the latter, the Maharajah returned to Lahore, where he arrived in the month of Magh (January). Kerpa Ram was imprisoned, and a fine of one lakh and 20,000 rupees enforced upon him, while all his forts and other charges were made over to Azeezoodeen. After a year, however, Kerpa Ram was restored to favour, and he was appointed governor of Cashmere.

Motee Ram leaves Cashmere.

Yoosoofzye country laid waste.

Kerpa Ram fined.

Again received into favour.

The rising of Syud Ahmed Shah.

In the early part of A.D. 1827, a syud named Ahmed Shah raised a disturbance in the Punjab. He set himself up for a reformer; and though a Mussulman, he was as inveterate against the followers of Mahomed, as he was against the Sikhs; but his ire was more especially excited against those Mussulmans who owned the Sikh supremacy across the Indus, or entered their service. Syud Ahmed was a fanatic; and, like others of this stamp, was a dangerous and seditious character. He proceeded towards Peshawur, where he concealed himself among the hills in the vicinity, and numerous followers flocked around his standard. The Maharajah sent a large force against this fanatic, who, at the head of an immense rabble, attacked the

Sikhs under Boodh Singh. He was, however, easily vanquished, and fled to the hills, where he and his followers concealed themselves, and lost no opportunity of attacking travellers.

Vanquished by Boodh Singh.

The syud was particularly annoyed with Yar Mohummud Khan, who had taken service with the Maharajah; and he resolved to punish him. With this intention, he threatened Peshawur; which he would have seized, had not General Ventura been fortunately at the place on an embassy to Yar Mohummud.

Prevented by Ventura from seizing Peshawur.

Runjeet Singh not succeeding in getting the famous horse "Lylee," and a report having been spread that the animal was dead, (which report was not believed by the Maharajah), Runjeet despatched General Ventura, in 1827, to bring "Lylee" to Lahore; and his arrival at Peshawur during the descent of the syud, in all likelihood, saved the place, for Yar Mohummud was killed in the encounter; and his brother Sooltan Mohummud appointed to the government of Peshawur. The General not only saved the latter from the hands of the fanatic syud, but likewise procured the famous horse, with which he returned to Lahore.

Shere Singh sent to fetch the horse "Lylee."

General Ventura sent on the same errand.

Succeeds.

Though Syud Ahmed had been thus frustrated by the vigilance of the general, the latter had no sooner taken his departure, than the former again took the field, with a host of followers, chiefly Yusoofzyes. Notwithstanding the ill-success of Yar Mohummud against the syud, Sooltan Mo-

The Syud rises again and seizes Peshawur.

hummud resolved to give him battle; but was defeated, and Peshawur seized by Ahmed Shah.

The Maharajah takes the field against the syud.

Such daring on the part of a fanatic, and the want of success in opposing him, induced the Maharajah to take the field, for his chastisement. When the Maharajah crossed the Attock, and approached Peshawur, the rabble force, which occupied it, fled in all directions; and on reaching that place, the Maharajah found no foe to oppose him.

Returns to Lahore.

He, therefore, returned to Lahore, leaving troops, however, for the purpose of assisting Sooltan Mohummud in his endeavours to regain and keep Peshawur. The syud speedily made a descent on the place; and Sooltan Mohummud, unable to contend with him in the field, was obliged to enter into terms of peace with him. He adhered for some time to the agreement with the syud, and paid him a nuzurana; but when Ahmed Shah departed, a revolution took place, and the Yoosoofzyes taking part against the syud, expelled the latter and his followers from their mountains. The syud fled across the Indus, and concealed himself in the mountains of Fuklee and Dhundour. He was eventually slain, in 1831, by a force under Shere Singh.

The syud again appears.

Ahmed Shah expelled by the Yoosoofzyes.

Is slain.

Peace restored and preserved.

The disturbance caused by Syud Ahmed was the last in which the Maharajah was obliged to take the field in person. All the provinces of the Punjab, as well as those across the Indus, were reduced to a state of order by the Maharajah. He was friendly to the British, and sent vakeels and pre-

sents to both Lord Amherst and Lord Combermere in 1827 and 1828. But in the time of Lord William Bentinck's administration, that nobleman was anxious to have an interview with the Maharajah; and this was left to the management of Captain, now Sir Claude Martin Wade, then assistant political agent at Loodiana.

Lord William Bentinck wishes a meeting with the Maharajah.

The task was one of considerable difficulty, for, though the Maharajah from his intercourse with Captain Wade, had every dependence on the good faith and feeling of the British towards him, yet he had never seen enough of them to enable him to understand their character fully; and he concluded, that though Wade, or the *Captain Sahib*, as he usually called him, might be a good, honest man with whom he might safely trust himself, yet, others might be inclined to take advantage of his crossing the boundary. Besides, his sirdars and followers were averse to the step, and dreaded still more than the Maharajah himself, the operation of disguised and selfish motives.

Difficulty of arranging one.

Causes of this.

At all events, the Maharajah, when yielding to the request of the Governor-general to meet him at Roopur, was determined to be prepared for any sudden emergency; and he therefore assembled a large force, including the flower of his army, by way of escort. The three brothers of Jummoo were at the time great favorites with the Maharajah, and accompanied him, as did all his principal sirdars and the faithful fukeer Azeezoodeen.

The Maharajah encamped on the right bank of

The Maharajah accompanied by a large force.

Reaches the right bank of the Sutlej.

the Sutlej in October 1831, and about the same time Lord William Bentinck arrived at Roopur, from Simlah. The visits of ceremony were exchanged between the Maharajah and the Governor-general attended with great pomp and state on both sides. Several field-days took place, and the Maharajah admired in a particular manner Her Majesty's 31st regiment* and when the 16th lancers were pointed out to his notice, he merely observed "They are all gentlemen. I want to see the European foot-soldiers." There was a review of his own troops across the river, and they performed their manœuvres with tolerable exactitude. During this visit, the Maharajah put incessant questions to the Governor-general regarding the equipment and management of the British army; the pay of each grade; the weight of metal in our shot; the charge of guns; and subjects of a similar nature. He was in great spirits, and joined in the feats of horsemanship and sword-exercise, with his own and Colonel Skinner's horse. At the conclusion of all the ceremonies, reviews, nautches, and the like, the parting took place, and at this a treaty was signed between the Maharajah and the Governor-general of India. This was merely a renewal of that of 1809, with some additional clauses regarding the navigation of the

Lord William Bentinck arrives at Roopur.

The Maharajah admires the European infantry.

His numerous questions on all subjects.

A treaty.

* Destined to cut such a gallant figure in the Sikh campaign fourteen years afterwards. The regiment was present in all the four engagements of Moodkee, Feerozshuhur, Alleewal, and Sobraon, and greatly distinguished itself at Istaliff and the Khyber Pass in the second Affghan campaign.

Indus; and a firmer bond of union was drawn for mutual defence between the governments. Shortly before this meeting, the late Sir Alexander (then Captain) Burnes, had reached Lahore with a present of horses from the British government, and meditated those travels into Bokhara which he soon afterwards commenced. All the particulars regarding this meeting are given in detail by Mr. H. T. Prinsep, who was then principal secretary with the Governor-general, and afterwards drew up the history of Runjeet Singh, from the materials furnished him by successive political agents. The life of the Maharajah, of which we have presented a sketch, may differ in some respects from Prinsep's as to dates; but the authority we have followed appears, in many parts, the same as that from which Murray and Wade derived their information.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FRIENDLY TERMS SUBSISTING BETWEEN RUNJEET SINGH AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

In 1838, we drew up a paper on the court of Runjeet Singh; which, with a few preliminary remarks, was presented to the Governor-general, (Lord Auckland) and its introduction in this history will serve to elucidate the character of the Maharajah, and the friendly feelings which at all times existed between him and the British.

His views founded on a true political basis.

"As already mentioned, the country of the Punjab had been portioned out among various independent sirdars, constantly quarrelling with each other for extended dominion. In the midst of such confusion, it was reserved for Runjeet Singh to grasp the whole, by vanquishing, in their turn, the different chiefs who formerly ruled the Punjab. The history of his warlike career will point out the steps by which he effected their reduction, and the apparent means he employed; the true cause,

however, of his ultimate success, appears to have been his superior energy of character, and great power of discrimination; by which he was enabled to seize on every favourable opportunity of extending and retaining his power undiminished, for a series of years. His friendship for the British government in India is sincere; and being founded on a true political basis, there is little risk of any change during his lifetime, however anxious some of his advisers may be to quarrel with his friends, in order to extend his dominions. He knows well the sort of advantage he would gain by a rupture with the British; experience has taught him this; and the downfall of every Indian power, which has measured arms with us, is a constant reflection with him, and serves to convince his injudicious counsellors of the futility of risking his kingdom in making war upon his powerful allies. Our government, on the other hand, is equally convinced of the value of his friendly alliance, and would no doubt make great concessions, in order to preserve it. In the event of war with Russia, the Persians, as well as the tribes of Affghanistan, would in all probability join its standard; and the Russian army thus strengthened, would find little difficulty in reaching the confines of the Punjab. The only barrier offered to their entering Hindostan, would be our ally Runjeet Singh, who is well aware of his consequence, in the event of such an invasion. Should such a crisis ever occur, the ruler of the Punjab could not possibly withstand the united

Views of the British government regarding Runjeet Singh.

forces of Russia, Persia, and Cabul;* but it is easy to see, how advantageous his efforts might be in retarding their progress, and thus affording time for collecting our armies from every part of Hindostan. The war might, probably, be confined to the Punjab, instead of being carried into the centre of our dominions, where there are many discontented powers, who would gladly embrace the opportunity of throwing off the British yoke; more especially among the Mussulmans, whose motives for so doing would be two-fold, namely, a wish to assist their brethren in the north, and the desire of punishing the infidel Sikhs. From what has been stated, it will appear plain, that it is prudent in our government to preserve a friendly alliance with Runjeet; while his doing so with us, insures the stability, or even the existence of his kingdom, in case of an invasion. In order to cement this friendship as firmly as possible, Lord William Bentinck proposed a meeting with Runjeet at Roopur in 1831, and ambassadors were sent to Simlah, where the Governor-general then resided, for the purpose of arranging preliminaries, while Captain Wade visited the court of Lahore for the same purpose. The influence of Captain Wade with Runjeet was well known; and through his advice and representations, Runjeet was induced to grant the meeting. Lord William Bentinck left Simlah in October of the same year, and reached

Captain Wade visits Lahore, and the Maharajah visits the Governor-general.

* This is rather a doubtful point, since our late experience with the Sikhs.

Roopur about the same time that Runjeet did the opposite bank of the Sutlej. The details of this interview are sufficiently known, and need not be repeated here; the result was as favourabe as could be wished; and since that time, Runjeet has formed a more correct idea of the British character, and takes every opportunity of shewing his subjects how highly he values our friendship, and how anxious he is, that his armies should be as much as possible on the same footing as those of the British.

Sir Henry Fane invited to the marriage of Nonehal Singh.

"In March 1837, on the occasion of the marriage of his grandson, Nonehal Singh, Runjeet Singh expressed an earnest wish, that Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-chief, should witness the ceremonies. The necessary arrangements were speedily settled, and Sir Henry proceeded from Kurnaul, viâ Loodianah, to the banks of the Sutlej at Hurreekee, where it was thought advisable he should enter the Punjab. There is a fort at this place; and its distance from Umritsir being much shorter than that between Loodianah, and the latter place, the selection of it was, no doubt, judicious. On the morning of the 3rd of March, Captain Wade proceeded from his camp on the right bank of the Sutlej, in order to receive Sir Henry on his crossing the river. The captain, in the first instance, went to the tents of Shere Singh, who had been sent by his father, Runjeet, to accompany the Commander-in-chief to Umritsir. Shere Singh's beautiful suite of tents were close to the river, of which they

commanded an extensive view, including the ghaut, at which Sir Henry, and his escort were being ferried over; the sight was an imposing one, particularly that of the European lancers. After sitting a short time in Shere Singh's Durbar tent, the news was brought to Captain Wade, that the Commander-in-chief had reached the right bank of the river; and before the former could meet him, Sir Henry had disembarked, and was proceeding towards his camp. Captain Wade and Shere Singh immediately joined him, and the whole cavalcade proceeded to camp. The Sikhs attached to Shere Singh were handsomely dressed in green, yellow, and red silks, and some of them were very handsome, tall men; one in particular, was pointed out as a perfect "Roostum" for size and strength; and if his large bulk could be taken as a warrant of his prowess, he might certainly lay claim to the title. The Sikh soldiers appeared rather nervous at the sight of so many armed Europeans; but the utmost harmony prevailed on both sides. It was agreed that the camps should reach Umritsir in two days; the distance being computed at twenty-eight or thirty miles. On the morning of the 4th the Commander-in-chief and Shere Singh proceeded towards the first stage, passing a fort named Suruolee, formerly the residence of a noted freebooter; and encamped beyond the village of Sheron, about sixteen miles from Hurreekee; on the 5th they were at Chubah, four miles on this side of Umritsir, the original intention of reaching

the latter place on the second day having been abandoned, on account of the previous marches on the other side of the river having been long and fatiguing ones. It was now reported, that Nonehal Singh would be despatched from Umritsir for the purpose of conducting the Commander-in-chief to his grandfather's camp on the following morning; and Runjeet was described as being quite delighted at the prospect of so soon meeting his illustrious guest. About half way between Chubah and the last encampment, lies the city of Tarumtarah, inhabited chiefly by Ukalees: it is of considerable size, and a lofty dome with gilded minars rises from a temple in the centre of the city. To prevent any collision between the Ukalees and the soldiers of the escort, orders were sent by Sir Henry Fane, for the latter to pass outside the town; this was prudent, as the Ukalees have a great antipathy to Europeans, and indeed to any strangers. On the morning of the 6th March, the Commander-in-chief was met by Khurruk Singh, heir apparent to the throne of Lahore, and the rajah Dhyan Singh, Runjeet's prime minister. Nonehal Singh did not come as had been anticipated. On approaching the fort of Govind Ghur, its guns fired a royal salute, and the walls were soon enveloped in smoke. At a short distance beyond the fort, the Commander-in-chief's camp was formed, and near it, that of the Maharajah; opposite to which, the horse artillery attached to Sir Henry's escort, fired a royal salute, and Sir Henry having sent an aide-de-camp to

present his compliments to the Maharajah, he and his staff retired to their own camp. Shere Singh's camp was pitched at a short distance from the Commander-in-chief's. After breakfast, the Maharajah proceeded towards his excellency's camp, and was met by the Commander-in-chief, who returned with Runjeet on the same elephant, towards the Maharajah's durbar; the meeting of the two chiefs was the signal for the firing of cannon, and musketry, which was kept up by a line of soldiers, extending, it is said, to the distance of five miles; the sound of the cannon and musketry resembled that of a continued peal of thunder. Twenty-one beds of state were sent to the Commander-in-chief's camp, and several marriage dresses; the one for Sir Henry consisting of twenty-nine pieces of silk, shawls, &c., two horses were likewise presented to his excellency, and richly mounted elephants, with gilded and silver howdahs, were sent for his use, and that of his staff; in short, nothing was omitted, which could give éclat to the reception of Sir Henry Fane by the "Lion" of the Punjab. Proceeding from Umritsir, Runjeet and the Commander-in-chief reached Attaree, where the principal bride's father resided: and here the marriage festivities were celebrated. On the day appointed, Sir Henry and his staff, as well as the officers of his escort, left their camp on elephants, and were joined by Runjeet Singh and his principal sirdars. The whole cavalcade then proceeded, at a slow pace, towards the fort of Attaree. The distance

The meeting between the Maharajah and Sir Henry Fane.

was about two miles; and the whole of this space, as well as the country for miles around, was covered by dense masses of living beings. The road by which the elephants proceeded was rendered almost impassable by beggars collected from all parts of the Punjab; and it was surprising to witness the sagacity with which these docile animals threaded their way, without injuring any one, unless compelled to do so, through the rash and injudicious conduct of the Mahouts, who appeared only intent on getting their elephants close to the one on which Runjeet and Sir Henry Fane were seated, in the same howdah. On reaching the fort of Attaree the whole party dismounted from their elephants, on a flight of steps leading to an open terrace, where the Maharajah and his guests were received by the old sirdar Sham Singh, the bride's father. Chairs were here placed for the whole party. After the display of some fire-balloons, which ascended to a great elevation, Runjeet and Sir Henry, together with all the sirdars and British officers, took their departure, and returned to camp. Fireworks had been erected all the way between Attaree and Runjeet's camp, and Sir Henry was invited to witness their effect in the evening. At the hour appointed, the Commander-in-chief and his staff proceeded to Runjeet's camp, and found the Maharajah ready to receive them, under a rich canopy with canauts stretching out on both sides. After the shaking of hands, the whole party was seated; the Commander-in-chief being on Runjeet's

right hand, and his grandson, Nonehal Singh, on his left. Captain Wade was in attendance, and on this, and all other occasions, acted as the medium of communication between Sir Henry and the Maharajah. The space before Runjeet, and between the canauts, was occupied by dancing girls and musicians. The cupbearer quickly introduced the *green bottle* filled with the favorite spirituous liquor of the Sikhs. The two chiefs pledged each other in a bumper, and the glass was then handed round to each of the guests, in turn. The sight was highly amusing; Runjeet was in excellent spirits, and, though he could not indulge so freely as in former days, he still took his small allowance, which he measured out in a golden cup. While the glass thus circulated, the dancing girls and musicians were not idle, and did their best to amuse Runjeet and his guests. In this manner, the hours passed quickly; while an animated conversation was kept up between Sir Henry Fane and Runjeet. Mention having been made of the battle of Waterloo, particular notice was taken by the Maharajah of Colonel Torrens, who had been present in that great engagement, and wore on his breast the distinguishing medal; this was examined minutely by Runjeet, who seemed to approve of such a mode of rewarding bravery in the field of battle. After the green bottle had done its duty, and the dancing girls performed all their favorite movements, and exhausted all their store of choice songs, Sir Henry and his staff retired about

nine o'clock; though Runjeet and his chiefs kept up the revelry to a late hour. On the evening of the following day, the fireworks were repeated; and Runjeet and Sir Henry, attended by his principal sirdars, and the officers of the staff and escort, proceeded on elephants along the street of fireworks: the exhibition was on a magnificent scale, and Runjeet and his party seemed to enjoy it very much; the same could hardly be said of the young elephants, for it was with difficulty that some of them could be induced to advance through the line of fire. On the third day of the marriage festivities, a large sum of money was distributed in charity by Runjeet, to the poor people, who had come from every part of the Punjab to witness the marriage ceremonies, and receive their reward. The amount of money expended on this occasion, was said to equal ten or eleven lakhs of rupees, equivalent to one hundred thousand pounds sterling! Every living creature received a rupee, and even the dogs and other domestic animals shared in the bounty! Magnificent presents were made by Runjeet to the newly married couple. Leaving Attaree, and the young bridegroom to marry his other two wives, the camps proceeded towards Lahore. On their reaching the celebrated Shalamar gardens, a halt of one day was ordered, for the purpose of witnessing a grand fête. The whole of these extensive gardens were illuminated by various sorts of fireworks; and the profusion of light emitted by these, and numerous waxen tapers,

Reach the Shalamar gardens.

produced a dazzling effect, while lighting up the thick foliage of the garden trees and shrubs. Runjeet, on this occasion, was seated with his guests on the terrace of a lofty building which commanded a view over the whole exhibition; and here the green bottle was introduced, and the glass quickly circulated. The band of Her Majesty's 13th light infantry, as well as Runjeet's own, were in attendance, and played alternately. The European soldiers of the escort were, likewise, admitted, and appeared delighted with this mark of attention on the part of their superiors; even the ladies, on this occasion, managed to get a view from a terrace above the one in which Runjeet and his party were seated.

From the Shalamar gardens to Lahore, the distance is about five miles; and during a portion of this tract, the fields are well cultivated, and occasionally diversified by pretty flower-gardens; the latter were greatly admired by Sir Henry; and as the flowers were just assuming their summer garbs, their appearance was exceedingly beautiful. Runjeet is fond of flowers, and is careful that all these gardens are kept in proper order. On reaching Lahore, the Commander-in-chief's camp was pitched near the Ravee, opposite the fort of Lahore. The ground had been under cultivation, but the crops speedily disappeared, so that the place, in the course of a day or two, exhibited no remains of vegetation. While at Lahore, the different troops belonging to Runjeet were inspected

Arrival at Lahore.

by the Commander-in-chief; and the escort was reviewed by the Maharajah, who did not fail to express his entire satisfaction. Runjeet having made known his wish to see the horse artillery practice, a day was appointed for gratifying it. The troop on this occasion, was the 4th, or Native one, of the 3rd brigade, commanded by Captain Henry Timings, and but lately arrived, in the course of relief from Neemuch, under the command of Captain Timbrell, who was present. On his being asked the nature of the practice, he wished to see; Runjeet desired that a large umbrella, or chatha, should be struck by a shot; the umbrella was accordingly placed at 500 or 600 yards distant from where the troop was drawn up. The guns in succession discharged their contents, but still the umbrella stood unhurt. A second round was then ordered, and the first shot from the gun laid by Captain Timings struck the mark, as also the second by Lieutenant Mackenzie, and I believe, some of the others. Runjeet was delighted with the precision of the firing, and some of his own guns drawn up on purpose, were ordered to try the same mark; but from some cause or other, none of the shot took effect, though the distance was at length reduced to a few hundred paces. The Maharajah had seen the same feat performed at Roopur in 1831, by Captain Johnson's troop, where a gun laid by Lieutenant George Campbell struck the umbrella; still he did not fail to express his astonishment, and ordered golden bangles to be given to the

Reviews of troops.

artillery officers who had been so fortunate as to hit the mark. On returning to camp, Sir Henry caused a howitzer, loaded with grape, to be fired over the surface of a sheet of water, in order to shew the Maharajah, the probable effect of this destructive fire. During the stay at Lahore, a grand fête was given in the Soormun-boorj in the palace, to which the ladies of Sir Henry's staff and escort, were invited; and nothing could exceed the polite attention paid to them by Runjeet and his sirdars. It is needless to give any further account of this visit, than to add, that Runjeet, in order to commemorate it, instituted an order of knighthood; the decorations of which, have already been bestowed upon the two Adjutant-generals, and Quarter-master-generals of the army: the ceremony was performed in September last,* at Simlah at the quarters of Sir Henry Fane, in the presence of all the military and civil officers residing there at the time."

CHAPTER XVI.

A SKETCH OF THE COURT OF LAHORE.

"In giving a sketch of the court of Lahore, the first place is due to the Maharajah. To look at the man, little of the hero can be discovered; he is small in stature; and his face, disfigured with the small-pox, and deprived of the left eye from the same cause, is not much indebted to nature for its external beauty. His remaining eye is very large; and there is a fire and brilliancy about it, when he becomes animated, which at once discover the energetic mind and discriminating character of its owner. His smile is pleasing, and his manner of address easy and unembarrassed on all occasions; he never appears at a loss for words to express his ideas, which are quickly formed on any subject. When discoursing, he appears at once to grasp the whole bearings of the subject, and his reasoning powers and discriminating acumen are of the highest order. In his youth, Runjeet was remarkably active, an excellent horseman, and well skilled

Runjeet's personal appearance.

His bravery.

in every thing connected with military feats. He was ever the foremost in battle, and the last in retreat; there is no instance of his being even embarrassed, or evincing anything like fear, on record. His whole life has been spent in warfare, and he even now prefers a tent, or any temporary residence, to the gilded palace. He is doatingly fond of horses; and it is no uncommon thing for him, to have a couple of them saddled and bridled in his durbar; this I remarked at Umritsir, where one of the horses was standing close to him, while the other, he said, was merely concealed by a curtain.

His fondness for horses.

His dress.

In the article of dress, he is now exceedingly plain, except on great occasions, when he dresses with taste and elegance, displaying a magnificent diamond, called the *koh-i-noor*, or mountain of light; this precious stone was once the property of Shah Soojah Ool Moolk, the unfortunate ex-king of Cabul. A visitor to the court of Runjeet, is astonished at the rich and costly dresses of his courtiers; in fact, an ill-dressed person is not allowed to approach him while in durbar; and his is, I believe, the only native court where the most rigid attention is paid to this piece of etiquette. He generally converses in Punjabee with his own people, and only employs the Hindostanee in talking with his European visitors; though in this instance, he for the most part prefers an interpreter who knows both languages; which are the only ones with which he himself is acquainted, as his time has been too much occupied with military matters to

allow of his devoting any portion of it to literary pursuits; he nevertheless respects learning and learned men, referring to them for such information as they are supposed to possess, and which he has not had the opportunity of acquiring. When talking, he generally sits with his legs crossed, and raised on the chair; resting one hand on his knee, while the other is employed in stroking his long white beard, which is so bushy as almost to conceal his mouth. Military subjects are the usual topics of conversation. He enquired what services Lord William Bentinck had done for the army; and without waiting for a reply, continued, "Has he not abolished flogging in the Native army—done away with hospital stoppages—and allowed the horses' tails to grow?" I was not aware of the last circumstance, but assented to the truth of the two former. He was very inquisitive regarding the equipment of our horse artillery, and how this branch of the service was supplied with horses. I told him, that formerly many of the horses were purchased from Native merchants, but that of late years, the greater portion, if not the whole, were supplied by the various studs kept up for this purpose by government; adding, that any particularly vicious animals were harnessed to the guns, which in most instances reclaimed them; he said he would try a similar plan with his vicious horses. From Colonel F. having so long commanded at Loodianah on his frontier, Runjeet had conceived the most extravagant ideas regarding the Colonel's personal prowess,

His respect for learning.

and with great simplicity asked, whether he or Colonel F. who then commanded at Loodianah, would have the best of it in a single combat; adding, that he supposed, there were few sahibs who could vanquish Colonel F. I did not oppose this conclusion; and merely remarked, that I thought the younger of the two, if equally skilled in the use of his weapons, would most likely prove the conqueror. He had some time previous made a present of a toorkee horse to Dr. M., and among other questions, enquired what had become of the animal. I replied, that most probably it had been sold along with the doctor's other property on his departure for Europe; "What!" said he, "did Doctor Sahib sell that horse, which he assured me he would never part with?" I explained to him that the expense of conveying a horse to Europe, would in most instances, exceed its price; he observed "It may be so, but I paid 1,200 rupees for the horse." On my first visit to Runjeet, I made enquiries regarding his health, felt his pulse and so forth; when these preliminary steps were concluded, he asked, why I did not use a watch to mark the number of his pulsations, and a thermometer to ascertain the heat of his body, as Dr. M. had always done. I made answer, that experience had taught me the knowledge of these points without the aid of instruments. He put numerous questions regarding the use of various medicines and their effects on the human system; he showed me the water he usually drank, with some pounded pearls

at the bottom of the vessel containing it, asking at the same time my opinion as to their efficacy in purifying water, adding, that he sometimes used quicksilver for the same purpose. I could not give him much encouragement for the use of either; the pearls might indeed be of some service in neutralizing any free acids, but the mercury when not purified by distillation might have an opposite effect to that anticipated, from its containing occasionally sulphur, and even arsenic: he assured me the quicksilver was always purified previous to its being employed by him. He said, that his water for drinking was kept cool during the hot weather, by a process first pointed out to him by General Ventura. This consisted in gradually filling a well during the cold months, from any convenient stream or rivulet in its vicinity, the mouth of the well being closely shut up during this period. About the month of May, the well is opened, and the water is said to continue cold throughout the hot months; these particulars I learned from the general himself, and the plan certainly deserved a trial, where no ice is procurable during the hot weather.

Previous to Sir Henry Fane's visit, the Maharajah wished to know if he was a tall man, and how much wine he could consume at a meal!—these being apparently the standards by which he measured the personal strength of European officers. Not being acquainted with Sir Henry's social habits, I could give him no satisfactory

answer regarding his potations; but as to height, I assured him he would not be disappointed. On the occasion of Runjeet's visiting Sir Henry Fane, at Lahore, among numerous other questions on military subjects, the Maharajah enquired, what were the qualifications (I believe he limited them to three) of a good soldier; and from Sir Henry's well known qualities as a military leader, and a companion in arms of the great Wellington, the question was very apropos. I did not hear the exact answer, though I believe, that perfect obedience was particularly insisted on; and several military officers on the spot were of opinion, that this alone was sufficient, with the requisite portion of health and strength. Runjeet is an early riser; on getting out of bed, he takes a ride on horseback, and returns about an hour or two after sunrise, when he enters his durbar, and transacts his business until noon, taking his morning meal about eight o'clock; he is very regular with regard to his breakfast-hour; and at Roopur, while sitting with Lord William Bentinck reviewing his troops, on the approach of the hour for this meal, he retired; and after finishing it, returned and took his seat by the side of the Governor-general. About noon, the Maharajah retires to his bedroom in the Soomunboorj, and takes a few hours repose; after which he dresses and takes his opium; for a short time after this, he amuses himself with his flower garden, and some of his domestic pets are

His habits.

brought before him, and these he feeds with his own hand. The Grunth, or Sacred Book, is now read to him by the Gooroos, or priests, who are magnificently attired for the occasion, and seated on the richest carpets and silks. After this he again holds his durbar, and finishes the business of the day by a ride on horseback. Should the affairs of the state require his attention, Runjeet is ready at all times during the day and night; and it is not unusual for him to order his secretary and prime minister to carry the designs on which he has been meditating during the night, into execution before daybreak. This is only a solitary instance of the many that might be adduced, of the energy of character displayed by the present ruler of the Punjab. Runjeet, while at Lahore, gene- His residence.
rally resides in the palace, which is the remains of Mussulman grandeur; and though inferior, perhaps to the palace at Delhi, it is still a superb edifice. The most interesting portion of it, is the Soomunboorj; this is a quadrangular building, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country on both sides of the Ravèe, and contains the private apartments of the Maharajah, before which there is an open verandah, while the centre of the square is occupied by a shallow reservoir of water, and several fountains. Across the Ravee, and opposite Lahore, stands the Mausoleum of Jehangeer, the lofty minars of which are seen at a great distance on approaching Lahore. The building is constructed

of marble and red stone; on the ground-floor, in a capacious and lofty hall, repose the earthly remains of the emperor.

His fondness for field sports

Runjeet is fond of field sports, and makes short excursions every year through the country lying between the Sutlej and Ravee, and across the latter river, in search of game. On these occasions he is attended by all his principal sirdars, and a numerous retinue of followers, with a few horse and foot soldiers as an escort. While thus employed, the Maharajah makes very short marches and generally leaves one encamping ground for another about 3 o'clock P.M. The dogs employed in the chase are large northern, or Persian grey-hounds, which to great strength, unite considerable speed, though in the latter respect, they are much inferior to either the English, or Italian grey-hounds. Whenever a hare is started, the dogs and hawks are let loose; and as soon as the animal has been injured by the birds, so as to diminish its speed, it then becomes an easy prey to the dogs. There is not much of sport or excitement in this mode of coursing, and as the hare is quickly despatched, few of the horsemen pursue it. Tigers are met with in the dense jungles which skirt the banks of the Sutlej and Ravee. When a tiger has been discovered, a body of soldiers are ordered to attack the animal on foot with sword and shield, no matchlock being allowed; in this manner the tiger is despatched, though it seldom fails to inflict serious wounds on the assailants, and sometimes

even fatal accidents occur. During these encounters, instances of personal courage are not uncommon; and several of Runjeet's followers owe their rise to the valour displayed in killing a tiger single handed. When a man has been wounded by a tiger, he is not allowed to sleep for several days and nights, from an idea that he would see a *tiger* in his dreams, and thus become alarmed and die of fright! The hunting of the wild hog, is a favourite amusement with the Sikhs; they do not use the spear as we do, but kill the animal either with the sword or matchlock. The flesh of the wild hog is in great esteem among them; and I recollect the Rajah Dhyan Singh, who is a keen sportsman, being very anxious to know by what process he might preserve it. Runjeet was amused at our mode of hog hunting, which he disapproved of, from the difficulty of riding down the animal; and the remark was perhaps just, so far as regards the thick jungles which the wild hog inhabits in the Punjab. Some of the Sikh sirdars are good marksmen, and excellent riders; their saddles are of a peculiar shape, having a high circular peak in front; these, as well as the bridles, are often richly ornamented with gold and precious stones. Runjeet's own horse-equipments are very gorgeous, the holster pipes being covered with gold tinsel, and studded with precious stones, particularly emeralds and topazes; while the bridle reins are formed of pieces of gold or silver, connected together over the leather which is thus concealed.

His nautch girls.

Like other oriental princes, Runjeet is fond of nautching, or dancing girls; he keeps up a large establishment of these, and lavishes vast sums of money on them. These females are sometimes attired in military costume, and armed with bows and arrows; when thus equipped, he styles them his *body-guard!* They do not, however, like the amazons of old, take part in the battle strife; though their domestic quarrels are by no means unfrequent, and require all the address of the "Lion of the Punjab" to suppress them! He confesses that his body-guard are the most troublesome, and least manageable portion of his troops!! When employed in dancing and singing, Runjeet, it is said, sometimes amuses himself by giving them spirituous liquors (of which these girls are as fond as any bearded Sikh) until they have drank to excess, when they commence quarrelling, and tear each other's hair, much to his delight! He encourages the sport by every means in his power, and showers rupees without number among the combatants! These Bacchanalian scenes are, however, confined to himself and his favorites, being rarely or ever exhibited to strangers. When in the enjoyment of good health, the Maharajah and his sirdars used to indulge in spirituous liquors to an immoderate extent; on such occasions, his European guests found considerable difficulty in avoiding the force of *regal* example, as may be seen in Burnes' amusing account of a drinking scene at Lahore. On this, and similar occasions, the Maharajah is

described as perfectly happy, and forgetting the affairs of the state, gives himself entirely up to festivity. He rarely or ever indulges now, and the quantity of spirit which he consumes is measured out with great care in a small golden cup.

Broken constitution.

"It is surprising, that even with the strongest constitution, Runjeet should have lived so long; and it will not appear strange, that he is now suffering from the excesses and fatigues of his early life. His constitution is fast breaking up; already he has been attacked by paralysis, from the effects of which he has not yet entirely recovered; his tongue is the part chiefly affected, and it is not likely that its powers will be ever fully restored, since he will not submit to any active medical treatment. To the use of medicine in any shape, he has a thorough dislike, and can with difficulty be persuaded to take even a single pill: before this is effected, the medicine must be given to one or two persons about him; and should its effects on any of them be greater than he was led to anticipate, he insists on some other composition of a less active nature; and thus delays from day to day, until the patience of his medical attendant being exhausted, he gets rid of the dose altogether. When we consider the position which Runjeet now holds, as the absolute sovereign of several states, which formerly owned distinct rulers, and all of them reduced into subjection by himself, it is evident that he is no common character, but possessed of powers of mind rarely met with, either in

the eastern or western world. It would be unfair to compare him with those military leaders and conquerors of the latter, who enjoying all the advantages of education and hereditary wealth, have pushed their conquests over the greater portion of the globe. Runjeet's talents are entirely natural, and unassisted by education, they have enabled him to triumph over every power who opposed his victorious career to the throne of Lahore. If we compare his conquests with those of Nadir Shah, the Persian conqueror of Hindostan, we may discover more brilliant displays of daring adventure in the latter, but the tragical end of Nadir Shah's reign and life, are circumstances well known in the page of history, as having sprung from want of caution and discernment, qualities so characteristic of the present ruler of the Punjab. The manner in which Runjeet retains his conquests entire, displays the energy of the man in even a stronger light than all his victories in the field of battle, and without knowing the habits and endless resources of this extraordinary individual, it appears difficult to conceive how he manages to preserve such order in his wide-extended dominions; but we cease to wonder, as my friend Fukeer Azeezoodeen* has often remarked, on witnessing the minute attention which he bestows on the most trifling subject, from the shoeing of a horse, to the organization of an army. He never loses sight

His character as a military leader.

* The late memorable secretary and physician of the Maharajah.

of the difficulties he has to contend with, and his discernment and judgment enable him to make choice of advisers from whom he receives the ablest assistance. The Maharajah is fond of children; and many of his sirdars' sons are bred up under his eye, and instructed in riding, and the use of arms; by this means they become attached to him, and when able to assume commands, they never fail of succeeding to important ones. With his usual discrimination, Runjeet seldom makes choice of a subject unworthy of it, and he has ample opportunity of judging of the capacities of those individuals, who are ultimately appointed to the duties best calculated for drawing forth their talents. It has been already hinted that the Maharajah is fond of flowers; and around Lahore there are various gardens, to each of which there is a house attached, in which he spends some of his leisure hours. A novel scene occurred at one of these garden houses in February 1837.* A fukeer, who arrived at Lahore, engaged to bury himself for any length of time, shut up in a box, without either food or drink! Runjeet disbelieved his assertions, and was determined to put them to proof; for this purpose, the man was shut up in a wooden box, which was placed in a small apartment below the level of the ground; there was a folding door to this box, which was secured by lock and key. Surrounding this apartment, there was the

His fondness for children.

The story of the fukeer.

* Copied into Osborne's "Camp and Court of Runjeet Singh."

garden house, the door of which was likewise locked; and outside of this a high wall, having the door way built up with bricks and mud. Outside the whole there was placed a line of sentries, so that no one could approach the building. The strictest watch was kept, for the space of forty days and forty nights: at the expiration of this period, the Maharajah, attended by his grandson and several of his sirdars, as well as General Ventura, Captain Wade, and myself, proceeded to disinter the fukeer. The bricks and mud were quickly removed from the doorway of the outer wall; the door of the house was next unlocked, and lastly, that of the box containing the fukeer; the latter was found covered with a white sheet, on removing which, the figure of the man presented itself in a sitting posture. His hands and arms were pressed to his sides; and the legs and thighs crossed. The first part of the operation of resuscitation consisted in pouring over his head a quantity of warm water; after this, a hot cake of Atta was placed on the crown of his head: a plug was next removed from one of his nostrils, on this being done, the man breathed strongly through it. The mouth was now opened, and the tongue, which had been closely applied to the roof of his mouth, brought forward, and both it and the lips anointed with ghee or melted butter; during this part of the process, I could not feel the pulsation of the wrist, though the temperature of the body was much above the natural standard of health. The legs and arms being extended, and

the eyelids raised, the former were well rubbed, and a little ghee was applied to the latter. The eyeballs presented a dim, suffused appearance, like those of a corpse. The man now evinced signs of returning animation, the pulse was felt, while the unnatural temperature of the body quickly decreased. He made several ineffectual efforts to speak, and at length uttered a few words, but in a tone so low as to make them inaudible. By and bye his speech was re-established, and he recognised the bystanders, addressing himself to the Maharajah, who was seated opposite to him, watching all his movements. When the fukeer was able to converse, the completion of the feat was announced by the discharge of guns, and other demonstrations of joy; while a rich chain of gold was placed round his neck by Runjeet himself; and ear-rings, bangles, shawls, &c. were presented to him.

"However extraordinary this feat may appear to both Europeans and Natives, it is impossible to explain it on physiological principles, and equally difficult to account for the means which the man employed in his successful imposition; for he not only denied his having tasted food or drink, but even maintained his having stopped the functions of respiration during the period of forty days and forty nights; resembling in this respect the child before birth. To all appearance, the long fast had not been productive of its usual effects, for the man seemed to be in rude health, so that digestion and

assimilation had apparently proceeded in the usual manner, but this of course he likewise denied, and finally asserted, that during the whole period he had been in a most delightful trance. It is well known, that the Natives of Hindostan, by constant practice, will bring themselves to exist on almost no food for several days, and it is equally true, that by long training, they are able to retain the air in the lungs for some minutes, but how the two functions of digestion and respiration could be arrested for such a length of time, appears unaccountable. The concealment of the fukeer during the performance of his feat, so far from rendering it more wonderful, serves to hide the means he employed for accomplishing it; and until he can be persuaded to undergo the confinement in a place where he can be observed, it is needless to form any conjectures regarding them.* It is well known to physiologists, that the heart beats, and the function of the lungs is performed, even after an animal's head has been cut off; but to suppose for an instant, that the functions of the body can be performed for any length of time without a fresh supply of arterial blood, which necessarily implies the action of respiration, (unless in the case of the child in utero) is absurd; and though in cases of asphyxia from drowning and hanging, or the inhalation of hurtful gases, both circulation and respiration cease

* An attempt was made by the Hon. W. Osborne, to induce the man to shut himself up in a box, giving him charge of the key; he at first agreed to the proposal, but afterwards refused.

for a time, still there is a limit to this, beyond which life is extinct, and no power with which we are acquainted can recall it. Something approaching this state is the phenomenon of sleep, but here the circulation and respiration continue, as well as the secretory functions; the sensorium alone, with the muscles of voluntary motion, being at rest. My own opinion is, that the man enjoyed the functions of respiration, circulation, and assimilation in a degree compatible with the existence of life, and that by training, he had acquired the means of retaining the air in the lungs for some minutes, during the period of his being shut up, and when he was again exposed. How he managed to get a supply of food and drink, I by no means wish to hazard a guess; these affairs were no doubt managed by his accomplices, of whom he appeared to have a considerable number. It is said, that previous to his undergoing the confinement, this man gradually overcomes the power of digestion and assimilation, so that milk taken into the stomach passed out without the least change! He next forces all the breath in his body to the brain, which is described as giving the crown of the head the feeling of a hot coal. The lungs then collapse, and the heart, deprived of its usual stimulus, to use a homely phrase, "shuts up shop." Having thus disposed of digestion, assimilation, respiration, and circulation, all the passages of the body are closed; his legs and thighs crossed, and his arms pressed to his sides; in short, he presents the same appear-

ance he did when his box was opened. However childish all this may appear, the explanation was quite satisfactory to the good people of Lahore, and even to some who pretended to greater depth of reasoning powers. The same individual has, I believe, exhibited with success at Jesselmere, an account of which is given in Lieutenant Boileau's work lately published. The fukeer is a man about forty years of age, mild and intelligent in his deportment, and ready to answer all questions put to him on the subject. He describes his trance as a most delightful one, and does not scruple to say, that he enjoys it much; the only wonder is, that he does not prolong it. On asking him the place of his birth, he said he believed it was Kunkul, a village close to Hurdwar, and famous for fukeers of all denominations. He considers his being able to perform the feat as a gift from God, and he is not sure that it can be taught. It was observed by some of the bystanders, that his beard exhibited the same appearance after disinterment, as on the day he had been shut up; though I do not attach much weight to this circunstance, as the man's beard did not seem to be of the bushy kind, nor even to grow at all; the latter is the case with many Europeans, as well as Natives. Enough has been said on this subject, and were there anything to induce a belief, (except the difficulty of finding out the deception) in the man's assertions, the circumstance might deserve the consideration of the learned; as it is, there is little chance of its exciting

much interest in Europe; and it has already ceased to create wonder among the Natives of this country, who seldom trouble themselves about the discovery of imposition, provided they are pleased with its successful performance. Besides, it gives them, in their own opinion at least, an advantage over their European brethren, whom they challenge to perform a similar feat. However, if to excel in cunning and deceit, and thereby extort money, be considered creditable among these people, "ignorance is bliss." Runjeet is not above his countrymen in the superstitious ideas which they entertain on many subjects, and it is not improbable, that he had been told the successful performance of this feat might have some effect in restoring his health, in the same way as the Jesselmere Rajah fancied it would be conducive to the birth of a son and heir. To those acquainted with the idolatry and superstition of the Hindoos, there will appear nothing surprising in these absurd notions, which run through the whole tenor of their religious tenets. With regard to Runjeet's own religious character, it is somewhat doubtful if he has any fixed system; but as the Sovereign of the Sikhs who follow the religious tenets of Nanuk, modified by Gooroo Govind, it is politic on his part to support this religion, which he does in the most munificent manner. The Sikh religion differs but little, in many respects, from Hindooism, though a wider range is given to many indulgences by the former. Both enjoin a strict prohibition of slaughtering the

His religion.

cow, and in this particular, the Sikhs have no mercy for such an enormous offence: even in the protected Sikh states on this side the Sutlej, it is rigidly forbidden; while across the river, and throughout the Punjab, the killing of a cow is visited by capital punishment. The Sikhs are forbid the use of tobacco by the tenets of their religion, but they find a ready substitute for it in opium, which is consumed in great quantities throughout the whole of the Punjab, as well as among the protected Sikh states. While under the effects of this drug, the Sikh is a very different person to the same individual before he has taken it. In the former instance, he is active and talkative; in the latter, lazy and stupid. When the habit of eating opium has been once induced, it is well known how difficult it is to throw it off, and of this fact Runjeet is well aware, for though he has been told repeatedly how pernicious the effects of opium must be to his complaint, still he cannot resist the daily use of it, nor would it perhaps be prudent for him to do so suddenly.

His residence at Umritsir.

"For the purpose of being near the principal Sikh temple of the Punjab, as well as for change of air, the Maharajah is accustomed to spend a portion of each year at Umritsir; he arrives about the commencement of the periodical rains, and takes his departure on their breaking up, or after the festival of the Dusserah. While at Umritsir, Runjeet resides in the Rambagh, a short distance from the city; this is a garden, as the name implies, and it

contains some handsome buildings: the whole is surrounded by a wall and ditch. His time is spent here in a more retired manner than at Lahore, and he devotes more of it to religious ceremonies. The *Durbar Sahib,* as it is called, or great Sikh temple, is erected in the centre of a beautiful sheet of water, above the surface of which it is raised by means of a terrace. The building is a handsome one, and its lofty gilded dome and minars produce a rich and dazzling effect. Surrounding this temple, and skirting the edge of the water, may be seen the stately mansions of the different Sikh chiefs, on both sides of the Sutlej; one of the most conspicuous among these buildings is that belonging to the Alloowala family, the late chief of which, Futteh Singh, was among the last of Runjeet's early companions in arms. The entrance to the temple is by a flight of steps, which descend from one of the public streets, or avenues; before entering on these, every person is obliged to take off his shoes, even Runjeet himself is not exempted. On reaching the bottom of these steps, there is a causeway leading towards the temple; the door of the latter faces the north, and the avenue immediately in front of it is constantly crowded, during the daytime, with people passing to and from the temple. On the ground-floor, opposite the door, sits the presiding Gooroo, or priest, clothed in white robes; and before him is placed the Grunth, or Sacred Book, which is open; this book is constantly fanned by the priest, by means

The temple at Umritsir.

of a chourie, or yak's tail,* which he keeps waving backwards and forwards in his right hand. The Grunth is placed under a small arch of gold tinsel, inlaid with precious stones, and presented a few years ago by the Maharajah, at an expense of 50,000 rupees; the rest of this apartment is covered with rich carpets and strewed with flowers, particularly those of the jessamine, or chumbelee. The doors and walls are gilded and ornamented; while the light descending from the lofty dome has a pleasing effect on the whole. Above this there are other apartments, with verandahs running round the whole circuit of the building. From the top of the building itself, the view is extensive; and here you obtain a nearer view of the gilded dome and minars, on which vast, and almost incredible sums of money have been expended by Runjeet and his sirdars. Facing this temple, on the north side, but not in the water, stands the temple of the *Ukalees;* these are a race of religious fanatics, who inhabit various portions of the Punjab, but found in greatest numbers about Umritsir and the Manja country lying between Lahore and the river Gharra: in this district, as already noticed, is Taruntara, their chief city. The Ukalee is a wild-looking character, displaying in his countenance a mixture of cunning and cruelty; these two propensities are accordingly the leading impulses of his life. The Ukalees are ostensibly

The Ukalees.

* Bos grunniens of the Himalayas.

beggars, but differ from this race as found in other parts of India, in their extreme insolence and independence. To the sight, even of an European, they have a strong antipathy; and never fail to load him with abuse. Runjeet has done much towards reducing this race to some degree of order; and though the task is a difficult one, they have even been trained as soldiers, retaining, however, their own peculiar arms and dress. The Ukalees wear but little clothing, and are sometimes divested of it altogether. Their turban is of a peaked, or conical form, and invariably of a blue colour; over this are placed steel circles, made so as to fit the shape of the turban, diminishing gradually in diameter as they approach the top. The outer edge of these weapons is very sharp, and inflicts severe wounds. They are thrown, by giving them a rotary motion on the finger, and then projecting them forwards with great velocity. In addition to these weapons, by which they may at all times be known, the Ukalees carry a naked sword in their hand, which they keep flourishing about their heads like madmen. When thus equipped, and mounted on horseback, they present a novel sight; further increased in terror, if they happen to be under the influence of spirituous liquors, which is by no means a rare occurrence; their discordant yells, wild gestures, and the brandishing of their swords, give them, on these occasions, more the appearance of fiends, than of human beings. The Ukalees sometimes cross the Sutlej and Gharra

rivers, laying waste the country with fire and sword; on such forays Runjeet is obliged to bring them back by means of his regular cavalry, whom they seldom or ever dare to encounter; for they seem to be guided more by the blind impulse of the moment, than by any preconcerted measures, and are alike careless of their own lives and of those of others. On visiting the temple of the Ukalees at Umritsir, the stranger presents a few rupees, and in return receives some sugar, while a small mirror is held before his face, so as to reflect his image. What the exact meaning of this ceremony is, I have not been able to learn, though it is probably meant to convey some moral, as "Know thyself." After this it is advisable to retreat, otherwise crowds of these fanatics collect around the visitor, and commence their abuse, which is equally lavished on friend and foe. Their chief priest is most fantastically dressed in clothes of different colours, above which, he wears the warlike insignia of his race. During Sir Henry Fane's stay at Lahore, a battalion of Ukalees was marched past in review, and made to salute the commander-in-chief; in the front and rear there were some regular troops, in order to prevent their doing some mischief, on which the Ukalees appear always bent. On one occasion some years ago, an Ukalee attempted the life of Runjeet, and made his escape across the Sutlej. I once encountered a body of these people under the walls of the fort of Lahore; I had passed their encampment early in the morning, in com-

pany with Captain Wade and Lieutenant Mackeson, on our way to join the Maharajah's camp on a hunting excursion; having a strong escort with us, they took no further notice than to raise a shout. I had occasion to return to Lahore in the evening, and had ten horsemen as an escort. On approaching Lahore, I met a solitary Ukalee horseman at some distance from their encampment, which I had purposely avoided. He spoke a few words to my escort and then galloped off; shortly after this, on turning round, I observed about twenty Ukalees mounted on horseback, and coming at full speed, shouting and flourishing their swords. As they were evidently intoxicated, I was determined not to risk a quarrel with them; and on their coming up, I asked what they wanted? They said they were starving, and wanted money; I replied, that I had no rupees about me. Not being satisfied with this, they endeavoured to come nearer, and nearer, while my escort advised me to ride off. I did not, however, follow this suggestion, and took no further notice of them. When they found that I was not likely to comply with their demands, they set off at full gallop, shouting and uttering all manner of abuse. Next morning, on my return to camp, Runjeet made enquiries regarding the adventure of which he had heard, assuring me that they were his servants, and that I had no cause of alarm. Be this as it may, I should not have much trust in their forbearance in a retired spot, and without any escort; the latter

is at all times advisable in marching through the Punjab, particularly beyond the river Beas, few of the Ukalees being met with between the Sutlej and the latter river, and hardly any in the protected Sikh states.

The feast of the Dusserah.

"The feast of the Dusserah is celebrated at Umritsir, about the latter end of September, or early in October, it being a moveable one. I had an opportunity of witnessing it in 1835, and shall introduce a short notice here on the subject. On the day appointed, I was sent for by the Maharajah about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. I found him seated on the top of a house which he had erected for the occasion. In the apartment underneath, I observed the various sirdars, the most conspicuous among them being Rajah Dhyan Singh, the prime minister, and his relation, Sirdar Kesree Singh: the former was dressed in chain armour. The approach to where the Maharajah was seated was by means of a ladder, with a trap or lifting-door at the top of it. A chair was placed for me close to Runjeet, the only other person allowed one being the young Rajah Heera Singh. From this elevated position, I had a full view of the troops drawn up on the adjoining plain in the form of an open square, each side consisting of four thousand rank and file, making a total of sixteen thousand men, exclusive of the artillery, which numbered one hundred guns. The whole commenced firing at one and the same time; so that the continued noise of cannon and musketry was quite deafening; and even Runjeet's

well practised ear was stunned by the sound. This firing lasted without intermission, until the artillery had expended 20,000 cartridges! and the infantry an equal proportion! The firing was quick, and intended to represent a battle, the Maharajah assuring me from time to time, that it would be equally expeditious in the scene of action. He asked me what I thought of the firing, and which side of the square fired with the greatest regularity.* I was rather loth to risk an opinion; but as he insisted on one, I replied, that I thought that on our left fired with the least interruption, and as chance would have it, the Maharajah had formed the same opinion, remarking, that the soldiers on our left belonged to Sirdar Tej Singh, who had just arrived from Lahore to take part in the Dusserah. Besides the artillery and infantry, there were five hundred camels armed with swivel guns, which likewise took part in the exhibition. The Maharajah being at the time in an infirm state of health, I took my leave of him early, assuring him that I had never witnessed such a sight before.

* Allusion to this is made in the second volume.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Dhyan Singh.

"AMONG Runjeet's personal staff, the Rajah Dhyan Singh deserves the first place: he is brother to the rajahs Goolab Singh and Soochet Singh, and performs the office of prime minister at the court of Lahore. The three brothers are Rajpoots by descent, and all of them strictly adhere to their Hindoo forms of religion. Dhyan Singh's influence is great, and he uses his power with a moderation and judgment which never fail to elicit the admiration of all who know him. His own personal followers are numerous, and in the event of a war of succession, the three brothers would be formidable rivals to the adverse party. "The rajah," as he is called by Runjeet, is a remarkably handsome man, and well skilled in horsemanship, and in the use of the sword, spear, and matchlock; he is mild in his deportment; affable to strangers; and at all times ready to listen to complaints, and redress grievances. His son, the young Rajah Heera

Singh, is a great favourite with the Maharajah, being constantly with him, and honored with a chair in his presence, a mark of respect denied even to his father. The degree of familiarity existing between this young man and Runjeet is of a childish nature, and would amuse an European unacquainted with the domestic habits of the Sikhs. Though quite a youth, Heera Singh is already a rajah, and holds the command of several regiments in the Maharajah's service. His appearance is effeminate; and his character for energy and intellect inferior to that of his father, Dhyan Singh. Next in power and influence is the fukeer Azeezoodeen, who is, at once, chief secretary and physician to Runjeet. The fukeer is an aged man, though of a hale constitution; simple in his manners, and dress; of a mild disposition; but possessed of great energy, talents and address. He is thoroughly versed in the native science of medicine; both as regards its theory and practice. His memory is extraordinary, and he brings forward on every occasion, appropriate verses from his favorite Persian and Arabic poets to illustrate and enforce his arguments. All the confidential correspondence of Runjeet's court is conducted by the fukeer, and he is always employed to treat with European officers, civil and military, who visit Lahore. On the occasion of Runjeet's attack of paralysis in 1835, the fukeer, as well as all the courtiers, was in great alarm. The Maharajah was for some hours speechless, and during this eventful period, the fukeer's attentions

Heera Singh.

Azeezoodeen

were unremitting; had Runjeet been his father, he could not have evinced greater solicitude. This worthy man never ceases to watch over the interests and welfare of his master, who in return, treats him with the most marked kindness and respect. The fukeer generally travels in a palkee, without the least ostentation; and he often spends whole days and nights near the Maharajah, with no other comfort than his simple food, and plain water as a drink. The fukeer is of a most humane disposition; and he deems it cruel to deprive even the insect of life: though obliged to witness the death of animals while on hunting excursions with his master, he confesses, that he never sees a hare start before the dogs without offering up his prayers for its escape! These traits will shew the mild and gentle disposition of this worthy man; it must not, however, be supposed that he is less energetic or useful for these peculiarities; on the contrary, his unpretending and simple habits give him an advantage over his more ambitious contemporaries, and enable him to gain information in quarters to which they have no access. His brother Nooroodeen is styled "Khalifa," an honorary title among Mussulmans, he is likewise a physician, and may be justly called Runjeet's "apothecary general," for he prepares all his medicines, as well as the favorite spirituous liquor which the Maharajah, even now, uses more freely than is advisable or beneficial for an invalid. This liquor is manufactured or distilled from nu-

Nooroodeen.

merous ingredients, the most active of which are dried grapes, saffron, and cardamums; and though strong and fiery to the taste, it is highly relished by the Sikhs: it is kept in curiously formed bottles of a green colour, each having a label of the ingredients employed, and the date of distillation. Some of the sirdars indulge in its use to an immoderate extent; and I recollect one day, an old Bacchanalian* of this class remarking to Runjeet (while I was recommending abstinence for its use) that such a small portion as the Maharajah employed would kill him, (the sirdar) to which Runjeet replied, that he did not doubt but that habit was a second nature, and that by degrees he had brought himself to employ a quantity so small, as would have killed him in former days."

"There are numerous attendants at the court of Lahore, who owe their rise to the caprice of fortune, and the whim of Runjeet. One man in particular, who was formerly a menial, (a waterman I believe) had his fortune made in one day, by a gift of several thousand rupees from his master; and now acts as a "Ganymede," or cupbearer, being not a little proud of his office. The rajah Soochet Singh, younger brother to the prime minister, to a handsome figure, and engaging manner, adds all the advantage of dress and ornament; he is of a mild and affable disposition; extremely polite, and courteous; in short, a perfect courtier, when required to assume

The cup-bearer.

Soochet Singh

* Sham Singh Attareewala, killed at Sobraon, and alluded to in vol. ii.

that character. He is equally celebrated as a soldier, and holds an important command in the cavalry, or household troops; besides having numerous followers of his own in this branch of the service. The elder brother, Goolab Singh, is for the most part on detached duty in the hill provinces, where the family have extensive possessions. Goolab Singh appears to be a thoroughbred soldier, and less pleasing in his manner and address than either of his brothers; he is even accused of cruelty and tyranny. His son is a promising youth; at Roopur in 1832, he was quite a boy; but, he* is now a fine young man, and already a general officer in Runjeet's service. One of the principal men about the court of Lahore is the Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, who has risen from the rank of a private soldier, to the responsible command of a great portion of the artillery. He is an active, bustling man; possessed of great wealth, and considerable influence in the Punjab. His house at Lahore is a magnificent building, and only inferior to the palace. His numerous elephants, horses, &c. proclaim him to be a man of substance. The Jemadar was originally a Hindoo of the Brahmin caste, but out of compliment to Runjeet, he has become a Sikh, while his wife and family still adhere to their Hindoo forms of religion; and in consequence, he has adopted a son of Sikh origin, or at least a convert to it, on whom he

Goolab Singh.

Khooshyal Singh.

* Killed at the same time as Nonehal Singh in 1840.

bestows every mark of parental indulgence. This son is named Bishen Singh, and has been for some years studying English at the Loodianah school, established through the exertions of the political agent (Captain Wade) and the American missionaries stationed there. It is surprising to witness the progress which some of the boys have made in English literature; and Bishen Singh, though not the first of his class, is still a promising scholar, and speaks and writes English with great fluency. He looks forward to a lucrative appointment about the court of Lahore; and his perseverance, and proficiency will, no doubt, be rewarded with success. The rise of the Jemadar is said to be rather of a romantic nature. During some of Runjeet's adversities, this man was placed as sentry over the tent in which the Maharajah was sleeping; the rest of the latter was disturbed, and troubled, so that he awoke several times during the night, and enquired who was keeping watch over him. The answer to these repeated enquiries was always "Khooshyal Singh." This circumstance, if we may credit native report, had the effect of endearing him to Runjeet, who had ever since shewn him great favor, and advanced him to the post he now holds. The Jemadar is an uneducated man, but possessing great shrewdness, and natural talent; he, like his master, does not appear to suffer from the want of a liberal education. He is accused of cruelty and oppression; but these are failings so common to upstarts in every country, as to be

Bishen Singh.

hardly worth noticing; and in the present instance, have little or no influence in retarding his prospects, all being laid to his zeal for the good of the state. The Jemadar's eldest son, named Ram Singh,* has been instructed in the science of war, by General Ventura, and is already a general officer, though not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age. He is not of a very mild temper, and has lately displayed his cruelty, by the murder of Bishen Singh, not his adopted brother, but a brother-in-law of Chat Singh, a commandant in Runjeet's service. The Maharajah has taken but little notice of this bloody affair; the deceased, Bishen Singh, was a fine young man, and in favor at the court of Lahore; he was particularly civil to strangers, and there are few of the British officers who accompanied Sir Henry Fane but must recollect the pleasing manners of poor Bishen Singh.

The champion.

"One of Runjeet's best officers, Huree Singh, Nulwa, was lately slain at Peshawur while gallantly fighting against the Affghans. Runjeet, like other princes, has his champion, or at least a person who may be called such. The present one is Sirdar Uttur Singh, Majeethia, brother to Sirdar Lena Singh, commandant of Umritsir; the latter is a great astronomer, though not yet a convert to the Copernicun system; for he believes as firmly in the earth's immobility as he does in his own exis-

* Since dead.

tence; he is an intelligent man, and possessed of considerable information on general subjects. The champion is tall and athletic; on great occasions, he is armed to the teeth; even in ordinary, he is gorgeously dressed in the favorite colours of the Sikhs, green or yellow, with sword and shield; he stands before the Maharajah, and seems not a little proud of his office. His self-importance induces him to believe, that he must be known to every one. He has no great liking for the English, or indeed for any foreigners; but this appears to originate in the little intercourse he has held with strangers, as he is in other respects a shrewd, sensible man, though his appearance and manners are not prepossessing. He looks on the Maharajah as the greatest of monarchs, and for this he cannot be blamed. Among the sirdars, the name of Goojur Singh* must not be omitted: he is younger brother to Lena Singh, and though inferior to him in talents, he is still a pleasing young man. He was selected by Runjeet as ambassador to the government of India, on the occasion of his sending presents to the king of England. Being young and sanguine, Goojur Singh was highly flattered by his selection for this post, and appeared delighted with the attention he received in the "City of palaces." Govind Juss was associated with the sirdar; the former is a sedate middle-aged man, and the choice

Goojur Singh.

* Poor Goojur Singh has paid the debt of nature since this was written, having fallen from the top of his house at Umritsir, and been killed on the spot.

was judicious on the part of Runjeet. It required all the caution and matured judgment of Govind Juss to prevent his volatile companion from committing serious indiscretions, among others, that of marrying a European woman with whom the sirdar fell desperately in love; the news of this adventure coming to the Maharajah's ears caused him much uneasiness, and he was very much displeased at the conduct of his ambassador, who, on his return to Lahore, was excluded the court for some time; it was only through his brother's influence with the Maharajah, that the latter again admitted him into favour. The sirdar is now a constant attendant at the durbar, and it is highly amusing to witness his conduct while there. He is dressed after the English fashion, except the turban, which is an indispensable article of a Sikh's dress. When any conversation is going on between the Maharajah and his courtiers or visiters, Goojur Singh takes out his pencil and pen-knife with his note-book, and placing the latter on his knee, he proceeds to adjust the point of his pencil with the knife, and slowly and ostentatiously returns the latter into his waistcoat pocket, looking round him all the time, with an air of superiority, which he no doubt imagines this imitation of English manners confers upon him! It is doubtful whether or no he commits anything to paper, but he sits in the attitude of a person busily engaged in taking notes, and when Runjeet on any occasion requires information regarding the "Sahib log," as he terms the English gentlemen, Goojur Singh is at all times ready to afford it. His

observations, and comments on the state of society, as he witnessed it in Calcutta, are often the theme of conversation in the Durbar, and seldom fail to amuse the old sirdars, and even extort a smile from Runjeet.

"Govind Juss, or Raee Govind Juss as he is more frequently called, the term "Raee" being an honourable title among Hindoos, is quite of a different stamp from Goojur Singh, being a quiet, steady, cautious man. He never intrudes himself on strangers unless questioned on any subject, when he shews considerable talent and tact, mixed with that low cunning which is so inseparable from the character of a Hindoo. Govind Juss is elder brother to Kishen Chund, the vakeel on the part of Runjeet at Loodianah; the latter is an able politician, and superior in this respect to the Raee, being possessed of extraordinary tact and cunning, with great presence of mind; there is little doubt, that this man is sometimes more than a match for some of our British diplomatists, though he, on all occasions asumes a mild, and yielding manner, having learned, no doubt, that this was the most successful means of gaining over his British adversaries in the field of politics. Govind Juss appears to have been much pleased with his visit to Calcutta, which he allows to be a city of palaces: nothing excited his wonder and astonishment so much as the beautiful houses and rich equipages of the wealthier inhabitants; he evidently looks upon these things as luxuries, and not at all necessary to the real comforts of life. Govind Juss is a great

Govind Juss.

Kishen Chund.

friend of the fukeer Azeezoodeen, and to these two men Runjeet entrusts the offices of secretaries of state; the fukeer, however, holds the first place, and deservedly, as he is a much superior man in every respect to the Raee; it is, perhaps, wise policy on the part of Runjeet, thus to divide the duties between two men of different religions, as his intercourse with the various tribes of Hindoos and Mussulmans is thereby facilitated.

Nonehal Singh.

"In giving a sketch of Runjeet and his court, his grandson Nonehal Singh must not be left out, for though a young man, he has already shewn himself a worthy scion of the stock from which he has sprung. Nonehal Singh is the son of Khurruk Singh, heir apparent to the throne of Lahore. There is a striking likeness between Khurruk Singh and his father Runjeet, though the former possesses but a small portion of the talents inherited by the Maharajah. Nonehal Singh is not a handsome man; for his countenance, like that of his grandfather, is strongly marked by the small-pox, yet, there is a steady, determined look about him, which points him out as a person likely at some future period to emulate the present ruler of the Punjab, and though Khurruk Singh will, no doubt, ascend the throne on the death of his father, it seems very doubtful how long he will be able to retain it, and in the event of his being dethroned, his son Nonehal Singh is the most likely person to become his successor, if assisted by the British.

"What the aspect of the affairs of the Punjab

may be at the death of Runjeet Singh, it is impossible to guess, but a few conjectures may be hazarded on the subject. It will be seen, that the three brothers, Goolab Singh, Dhyan Singh, and Soochet Singh, are by far the most powerful family in the Punjab, so far as their own personal influence is concerned; but they may be said to be strangers in the land, differing in religion and many other respects from the Sikhs. It is not likely, however, that the Rajah Dhyan Singh, knowing, as he does, the resources of the British government, would ever oppose himself to their wishes regarding a successor to the present ruler of the Punjab; in fact, it would be to his advantage were the throne of Lahore filled by a descendant of Runjeet capable of preserving the kingdom entire, as in the event of disunion among the various sirdars, each would make a desperate effort to regain his former principality; and this family, of Hindoo origin, would most likely be expelled the Punjab, though the struggle would no doubt be a fierce one, as each of the brothers has numerous followers, and great wealth; it may be therefore calculated, that this family will give its support to the heir apparent, Khurruk Singh. There is another person who will not probably allow Khurruk Singh to mount the throne of Lahore. I allude to Shere Singh, his younger brother by a different mother. This prince is in every respect superior to his elder brother, being a thorough-bred soldier, and a man of undoubted courage: he is

Shere Singh.

besides a great favourite with the Sikhs, who would rally rouud his standard in the event of his claiming the sovereignity; and there is evidently a jealousy existing between the two brothers, each endeavouring to ingratiate himself into the favour of Runjeet, who is well aware of the ambitious views of Shere Singh.

" It is now time that I should notice the foreign officers in Runjeet's service. At the head of these, are Generals Ventura and Allard; the former is an Italian by birth, the latter a Frenchman. Both arrived in the Punjab about the same time, and they have always been on the best terms with each other. These gentlemen have held, at various periods, important commands. General Allard has been more particularly attached to the cavalry which he disciplined after the French manner, and brought to a high degree of proficiency previous to his departure for Europe. During his absence, this branch of Runjeet's army sustained a great loss, for the soldiers were not only much attached to the general as their leader, but also as their friend, which he proved himself to be on all occasions. General Allard on his return to France, was received with great honour by the French king, and on his departure for the Punjab, he was entrusted with valuable presents for Runjeet, accompanied by a letter appointing him chargé d'affaires at the court of Lahore. The latter appointment is not of much consequence at a court like that of Runjeet, who though every way disposed to honour a European

General Ventura.

power, is still too far distant to derive any immediate benefit from such an alliance. Were the French in possession of any considerable portion of Hindostan, there can be little doubt that the British might have some cause for jealousy at the presence of a French chargé d'affaires at the court of Lahore; but as matters now stand, his presence there is rather to be wished for than otherwise. General Allard* was, and is still, I believe, in great esteem with the Maharajah, and from having been always near his person, the general is more of a courtier than his friend Ventura, who has seen a good deal of hard work, and has on every occasion shown himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him by Runjeet. General Ventura has been employed chiefly with the infantry, who owe much to his exertions for their present state of efficiency. The General a few years ago expressed a wish to cross the Sutlej, in order to receive medical aid for a paralytic stroke, which he had experienced in the Punjab. His leave was at length reluctantly granted. During his sojourn in our provinces, he received every mark of attention from the civil and military authorities, as well as from the late Begum Soomroo, of Sirdhanah, where he resided for some time. General Allard having received the permission of the Maharajah to visit Europe during General Ventura's absence in Hindostan, Runjeet became anxious for the return of the latter, and

* Since dead.

after a stay of some months at Loodianah, the general once more crossed the Sutlej, and proceeded with the utmost expedition towards Peshawur, which at that time was likely to become the seat of war. Nothing of a warlike nature however took place, and the general returned to Lahore, where he remained almost unemployed until last year, when he took his departure for Europe. It is likely that he will soon return, for his unbounded hospitality and generous disposition have prevented his accumulating a fortune sufficient to enable him to spend his days in affluence at home. He has very highly lucrative appointments, in which a man of less scrupulous sense of honour might have amassed a princely fortune, but being in every sense of the word an honourable, upright man, he scorned to avail himself of the opportunity of aggrandizing himself at the expense of the state, though there is little doubt that Runjeet, measuring his honesty by the standard of that of his own people similarly situated, gave him the credit of doing so. Be this as it may, the general found great difficulty in recovering the arrears of pay due to him. He is still a fine-looking man, though from exposure to the inhospitable climate of the Punjab, his health has lately suffered much, but, it is to be hoped, his visit to Europe will completely re-establish it.*—Monsieur Court, who is likewise a general in the Sikh service, and a Frenchman by

* He did return, but eventually retired in 1843.

birth, is attached to the artillery, but from a notion of, or as some assert, a piece of advice given to Runjeet on the subject, the chief command of this important branch of his service is always invested in the hands of Natives. General Court has done everything which the means placed at his disposal could accomplish for the artillery. The general is a well-educuted man, and was formerly, I believe, in the French service as captain of artillery. His researches in the Punjab in antiquities and coins, have frequently adorned the pages of the Asiatic Society's Journal; and his cabinet of coins and antiquities is a superb one. He is at all times ready to exhibit these, with a politeness which reflects equal credit on him as a gentleman and savant. Monsieur Avatabili, an Italian by birth, is employed in the civil department, and is, by all accounts, an active and zealous officer. Mr. Foulkes,* an Englishman, proceeded to the Punjab in 1835, and has since that time been employed in the Sikh army. He is a gentleman of pleasing manners, and being determined to surmount every difficulty, he will ultimately succeed to some important command, though the delays and disappointments he has already experienced, would be sufficient to daunt the prospects of a less zealous soldier. These are the principal foreigners now in the service of Runjeet; but there are others in subordinate employments, whose prospects have

General Court.

General Avatabili.

Mr. Foulkes.

* Cruelly murdered and roasted alive by the Sikhs!

not been realized, and who, disgusted with the treatment they have experienced, are merely waiting an opportunity for bettering their condition, by a departure from the Punjab.

Adventurers.

It is somewhat amusing to hear the treatment which some of the adventurers resorting to this court for employment, meet with. A young German made his appearance two years ago, and represented to Runjeet, that he was well versed in military tactics; this did not, however, satisfy the Maharajah, who, to put him to test, ordered a few companies of soldiers to be paraded, and requested the aspirant to manœuvre them. This was rather more than the young man had bargained for, and a complete failure was the result. After remaining a few weeks at Umritsir, he at length obtained his "Rookhsut," or leave to depart, with a present of one hundred rupees, and a couple of shawls. On this occasion he was asked by Runjeet whether he intended to proceed to Cabul to join Dost Mohummed? He replied that he did; on which, Runjeet remarked, that it was a matter of indifference to him if a hundred such as he joined the standard of his bitterest enemy. Another gentleman, who had formerly been an officer in the French service, made his way to Lahore in spite of the obstructions opposed to his crossing the Sutlej. On his arrival at Lahore, he readily obtained employment with Runjeet, at a nominal salary of 500 rupees per month, and he commenced the drilling of recruits, for which he was well qualified. Monsieur A.

continued at this work for a few months, when he demanded his pay, and a day was fixed on which the Maharajah promised to inspect the recruits, and pay his wages. On the day appointed, both Monsieur A. and Mr. F. attended the durbar with their respective detachments of recruits. Runjeet expressed himself satisfied with their performances, and to Monsieur A. he offered a few hundred rupees in the shape of a present; but to this the former objected, remarking that he wanted no presents, but his arrears of pay: or, as he emphatically expressed himself, "Hum tilab (tilub, or pay) mangta, kooch bukshish ne." "I want my pay, and none of your presents." Runjeet was not in a humour to make further disbursements, and Monsieur A. though he accepted the money, returned it through the prime minister on leaving the presence. This was equivalent to an insult, and the Maharajah was rather puzzled how to act, for he did not wish to part with Monsieur A. whose services he justly estimated; on the other hand, he would fain have kept him on the cheapest possible terms, namely, a little in hand and more on some future day. Monsieur A. was resolute and would agree to no terms short of his full arrears; these at length he obtained, and leave to depart. Monsieur A. has since, I believe, gone to Cabul and joined Dost Mohummud. His loss is a serious one to the Maharajah, as he was an admirable drill, and would have been of infinite service, now that General Ventura has gone away.

The German chemist.

Again, a Monsieur F. by profession a chemist, had been induced to relinquish a good appointment in the Pacha of Egypt's service, in order, as he imagined, to acquire a fortune in the Punjab, which he had been told was not a difficult matter. Leaving his wife and family behind him, this adventurous old man made his way to Lahore in company with the young German, formerly alluded to, and through whose advice he had been chiefly induced to undertake such a journey. Monsieur F. brought all his chemical apparatus along with him, and on his arrival at Lahore or Umritsir, he had an audience of Runjeet. He engaged to manufacture gunpowder for the Maharajah, of a superior quality: this pleased the latter, and the only thing remaining to complete the arrangement between them was the amount of salary: but here lay the chief difficulty. Monsieur F. demanded 3,000 rupees, or £300 sterling per mensem; Runjeet offered him 500 rupees, or £50 sterling to commence with. Such a difference could not well be adjusted, and after a short stay at Lahore, Monsieur F. took his departure, thoroughly disgusted with the treatment he had experienced, which was so contrary to what he had been led to expect from the representations of his fellow-traveller. I had the pleasure of seeing Monsieur F. at Lahore; he appeared to be a good practical chemist, and from the specimens of gunpowder which he exhibited, there can be little doubt but the manufacture of this important article would have

been greatly improved under such skilful hands, had the expenditure suited Runjeet's views. An Italian, Monsieur B., who visited Lahore in search of employment, met with no better success; he was requested to construct a road from General Ventura's house to Lahore, which he did, and so highly was the Maharajah pleased with it, that he told him to make out an estimate for one that should extend round the city and fort of Lahore, a distance of several miles. On presenting his estimate, to the poor Italian's amazement, instead of twenty or twenty-five thousand rupees, the amount of it, Runjeet offered him three thousand. Here the affair dropped, and Monsieur B., like the rest, embraced the first opportunity of quitting the Punjab, which he did without taking formal leave of the Maharajah.

These instances will suffice to show the kind of treatment which adventurers meet with at the present day from the ruler of the Punjab: it was different in former years; but Runjeet's notions regarding the value of their services are now changed, and he either fancies that he can dispense with them altogether, or, what is more probable, he grudges the pay which every gentleman resorting thither expects for his services. Some time ago, he wanted an European medical officer to be stationed at his court, and issued a purwanah, or order, for the attendance of Dr. D., formerly in the service of the late Begum Soomroo; his chief reason for this choice (which was in every respect a judicious one)

was rather amusing; namely, that as Dr. D. had kept the old lady so long alive at Sirdhanah, there was every probability of his performing the same kind office to himself at Lahore. The analogy was hardly just, for before ever Dr. D. had seen the Begum, she had attained a good old age, though there is little doubt that to Dr. D.'s unremitting care and skill, she was indebted for a few years of tolerable health at the close of her life; it is, therefore, to be regretted that the arrangement did not take place, though I do not think the Doctor has much reason to regret the circumstance, as he would probably have found the King of the Sikhs a very different person in the article of pay and remuneration to his late mistress the Begum. Mr. H., an American, was several years in Runjeet's service, and would probably have still been, but for a quarrel regarding money matters, which has for the most part been the ostensible cause of all the Maharajah's disagreements with foreigners.

From what has been said regarding Runjeet and his court, it must not be supposed that all his principal sirdars have been noticed; this was not my intention. Many erroneous reports are in circulation regarding Runjeet, and it is but justice, on the part of one who has experienced some degree of kindness and attention from him, to place his character in its true light. It were vain to expect a sovereign without some faults, and more particularly in the person of an uneducated man, such as Runjeet is; these I have not attempted to conceal;

at the same time I have been equally anxious to support his character in those striking points in which this extraordinary man differs so widely from his predecessors and contemporaries. His intercourse with the British has effected a complete change in his notions on the subject of war; he has learned from some source the importance of many minor details which had been formerly overlooked. Encroaching years and ill-health have, however, diminished the energies of his mind, as well as the activity of his body, and to those who knew him in the prime of manhood, his present state conveys a melancholy instance of the mutability of human life. His very existence is now precarious, and may be extinguished by a repetition of paralysis. When such an event does occur, there will be plenty of blood shed before the British can even reach Lahore. To prevent the chance of this, it appears advisable to have a force as near that capital as possible. The troops now stationed at Loodianah, were they sufficient in numbers, are at too great a distance; for after crossing the Sutlej at Phillour it would take them four days to reach the Beas, and as many more to gain the capital of the Punjab. On looking along the bank of the Sutlej and Gharra, the point nearest Lahore in our possession is undoubtedly Feerozpore, and no obstacle could exist to the formation of a large military station at this place, which is only four days march from Lahore.* It is said that

* This has since been done.

Runjeet would not like our troops so near to him, but this objection might perhaps be overcome, on assuring him that the step was altogether for his own good, and for the purpose of securing the easy succession of his son to the throne. The only difficulty in the matter would arise from the hope which he cherishes, that he has yet many years to live, and that the cantoning of troops at Feerozpore would appear like anticipating his speedy death. His advisers might urge, how can the Maharajah be assured of a lasting peace between himself and the British? Some cause for a quarrel may arise, for the settlement of which he could not make concessions consistent with his dignity as an independent sovereign; the British becoming offended, war is waged, and the force at Feerozpore speedily crosses the Gharra and reaches the gates of Lahore This reasoning is, however, more specious than just, for were Runjeet equal to a contest with the British, there might be some reason for his objecting to an armed force being stationed at Feerozpore; but however much his courtiers may think of the armies of the Maharajah, he has discernment to see at a glance the unequal nature of a struggle with his allies, though there is every likelihood that if his honour or that of his kingdom were compromised, he would try the issue. When Feerozpore fell into the possession of the British in 1835, Runjeet no doubt anticipated that it would be occupied by our troops, for he erected temporary buildings between

Lahore and Kŭssoor, so as to form an army of observation; he never, however, put this design into execution, being assured, I conclude, that there was no intention on our part to establish a cantonment in the newly-acquired territory. The possession of Feerozpore in the midst of his states on the side of the river, is a source of great uneasiness to the Maharajah, as we can by this means bring a large army to the very confines of his empire, and sweep the whole of the intervening country at a moment's notice. The territory of Feerozpore is said to be unhealthy, and certainly if compared with Loodianah, it is sickly; still much might be done for its improvement, and eligible ground be selected at no great distance from the fort where a large force might be cantoned. The existence of so large a body of troops at Meerut can only be accounted for from the salubrity of the station, and in the event of a new cantonment at Feerozpore, a portion of the force might be withdrawn. The troops now at Kurnaul might be advantageously pushed forward to Sirhind or Umballa,* and thus form a reserve, while the force at Feerozpore should be the largest on the north-western frontier, consisting of not less than a regiment of European cavalry, one of European infantry, two troops of European horse artillery, a battallion of foot artillery, two or more regiments of Native cavalry and

* This has since been done.

Native infantry. Were this arrangement adopted, the troops at Loodianah might be reduced, or else a regiment of cavalry added to it; for as it stands at present, the force there is incomplete, and almost useless, being composed of infantry and horse artillery. It would be highly prudent to put the fort of Feerozpore in a state of thorough repair, and this I believe is being done by the political agent at Loodianah, or his assistant. Feerozpore is particularly well adapted for mounted corps, as the immense tracts of grass jungle which skirt the bank of the river and neighbouring country would afford ample supplies of grass, while the soil is rich, and, by proper cultivation, might, in a few years, produce abundant crops of all kinds of grain.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MAHARAJAH'S VIEWS REGARDING THE BRITISH INVASION OF AFFGHANISTAN, AND OTHER MATTERS.

It was not long after the foregoing sketch was written, that the Governor-general of India deemed it necessary to send an army to Affghanistan for the re-establishment of Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabul. The designs of Russia, formed the ostensible reason for this measure. Dost Mohummud, the ameer of Cabul, was supposed to be friendly to the interests of Russia; and it was deemed good policy to substitute in his room, the imbecile ex-king of Cabul. By such means it was anticipated, that we should secure a friendly power in Affghanistan, as well as a peaceful neighbour for our ally, Runjeet Singh. The determination on the part of Dost Mohummud to recover the province of Peshawur, was, however, the chief obstacle to arranging an amicable treaty with the ameer. It was evident that he had no particular wish to secure the alliance of Russia at the expense of losing

The object of invading Affghanistan.

that of the British; but he could not be persuaded to give up his views regarding Peshawur, which he considered an integral part of the Affghan kingdom. In 1836, our intercourse with Dost Mohummud was viewed with a jealous eye by the Maharajah, and when Captain Wade visited Lahore at the end of that year, it was surmised that he was about to proceed to Cabul, and the question was even put to the author of this work by Runjeet Singh, as to whether this was not the real motive which induced the political agent to visit the Punjab? At this period, an idea was entertained by the British authorities, that the possession of Affghanistan would open a wide field for traffic, while the restoration of Shah Soojah was scarcely contemplated as a measure in any way likely to forward such an object. The chief motive for Captain Wade's visit to Lahore at the period alluded to, was to induce the Maharajah to withdraw his troops from the vicinity of Shikarpore, or, in other words, renounce the conquest of Scinde; and before this object was eventually obtained, the Maharajah secured, what he considered of equal importance, the safety of Peshawur by an arrangement whereby he should have to deal with Shah Soojah instead of the Ameer Dost Mohummud, who had already beaten his troops at Jumrood.

Runjeet's reasons for wishing it.

Though Runjeet Singh had contented himself with the capture and possession of Peshawur, he may have contemplated at one time the extension of his victories beyond the Khyber Pass; but later

experience had taught him, that the utmost he could expect across the Indus was to keep his powerful rival Dost Mohummud in check, so as to preserve his own conquests entire. The defeat of Hurree Singh in 1837, had shown the Maharajah that either his adversary's power was on the increase, or his own on the decline, and in either case, it became necessary for him to look for aid in preventing the encroachments of Dost Mohummud, and the proposal on the part of the British to substitute Shah Soojah for the ameer, was of a nature which suited his views exactly. Had he imagined his position safe without foreign aid, he would not have so easily agreed to our designs regarding Shah Soojah, but the recent example of defeat was fresh in his recollection, and he cordially agreed to the contemplated invasion of Affghanistan.

Though the invaders of a country may be gainers in the first instance, and appear to be sufficiently powerful for retaining their conquests, yet the history of past and present times proves that the retention of a country thus won, is a matter of extreme difficulty, and that the Natives will lose no opportunity of throwing off the yoke of a people who have no other right to impose it than the force of arms. Look at Poland, even at the present day. Though governed by the vast and tyrannical power of Russia, the spirit of independence is as strong in the minds of the gallant Poles, as it was when Russia first deprived them of their

independence; and though their weakened condition forbids even a chance of their regaining their freedom, we see the bold and indomitable spirit of the Poles kindle up at intervals, unhappily however with no other effect than that of making their yoke heavier. Again, in Circassia, though Russia has for years endeavoured to deprive her of her independence, the bloody struggles against her overbearing foe have convinced the latter that the love of freedom is yet undiminished.

The catastrophe in Affghanistan, whereby the British troops who had overcome the Affghans, and marched through the different defiles of the Bolan Pass, ascended the Kojack heights, and in short, conquered the country from the Indus to Cabul, were destroyed, shews clearly the risk to which invaders are exposed, even when everything appears to be tranquilly settled. A brave people will never submit quietly to invasion, however powerful the invading foe may be, and the result is for the most part disastrous to the latter. The more recent attempt of the Sikhs to invade British India is, perhaps, the most daring feat on record. At the outset they had vast advantages on their side, sufficient to raise the hopes of a semi-barbarous people to the highest pitch, and yet, in how short a space of time was their army almost annihilated, and their very kingdom placed at the disposal of the people against whom they had dared to wage war! It was not the least of the Sikh advantages, that the people of the country were already under a foreign

yoke, and it was considered not impossible that in the event of any marked success on the part of the invaders, the Natives of India might, instead of opposing their irruption, be ready to join them in expelling the British. The Sikhs had certainly calculated on this kind of support.

Far different were our prospects in Affghanistan, the natives of which country thirsted for the blood of its invaders, and were determined to lose no opportunity of revenging the injuries inflicted by the British, in forcing on them a king whom they despised.

Runjeet Singh, as we have shewn in the outline of his warlike career, experienced sad disasters in his first attempt at the conquest of Cashmere, owing to the inclemency of the northern climate. He no doubt dreaded the operation of the same cause, in the event of his invading Cabul; in fact, the conquest of Affghanistan was never a great object of his ambition, since the country was not only in itself difficult of access, and inhospitable in the depth of winter, but, even if acquired, its resources were of too scanty a nature to render their acquisition worth the risk of warfare.

Though thus himself convinced of the impolicy of invading Affghanistan, Runjeet did not oppose the views of the British. They appeared feasible to that power, and tended to secure his possessions beyond the Indus. Whether he ever contemplated disastrous consequences may be doubtful, though he was often heard to remark, that the

British certainly were great warriors, against whom no enemy could stand, but in their political arrangements, they appeared often to mistake the character of the people they had to deal with. This remark he illustrated by referring to the organization and management of our own troops, instancing the mutiny of the 47th regiment, Native Infantry, at Barrakpore. "How did it happen," he would ask, "with troops receiving regular pay and pensions, and commanded by British officers; while an occurrence of the kind never takes place in my army, the soldiers of which are often six months in arrears, and receive no pensions?"

Acting on the firm treaty of alliance, which existed between the two governments, Runjeet offered to aid the British, not only in allowing a free passage through his dominions to Captain Wade and the Prince Timoor, but by furnishing a Sikh contingent to co-operate with the British troops in forcing the Khyber Pass.

We are inclined to believe, that while thus cordially aiding us in our attempts, he almost ridiculed the expense his allies were about to incur for such a worthless object; and yet, the idea that the British, and not himself, should be the conquerors of Affghanistan, disturbed him, and he even shed tears when he heard of the victorious progress of our army, though seeming thereby to express his joy at our success. This apparent inconsistency may not be very clearly understood

by European politicians, but it is by no means an uncommon occurrence in the East. Tears are equally the types of joy and sorrow. His alliance with the British was not one of choice, but founded on a necessary political basis; he witnessed with his own eyes the effect of discipline, in the soldiers composing Metcalfe's escort; he learned from Juswunt Rao the irresistible force of our artillery, and being only separated from such a power by the Sutlej, he saw no other alternative than that of making friends with a government which he could never hope to subdue. Had Runjeet survived to witness our disasters in Cabul, he would readily have discerned that they arose entirely from local circumstances, and in no way deteriorated from our military prowess; but the Cabul massacre was otherwise viewed by Runjeet's less intelligent countrymen. It doubtless had some effect in making the Sikhs believe, that we were not the invincible power which their great founder had believed.

Runjeet's alliance with the British founded on a true political basis.

As further illustrative of the character of the Maharajah, we will offer a few more anecdotes, at the risk of being charged with egotism. In the history of India it will be found, that medical men have some share in procuring a footing for the English in the country. One of the emperors rewarded a medical officer at his court for his skill in curing him, with a grant of land to his countrymen! In our own case, the office of medical attendant on the Maharajah was accepted, when Doctor Murray resolved on going home, more with

a view of seeing the Maharajah and conversing with him, than from any pecuniary consideration. Our second visit was made under peculiar circumstances:—for the express purpose of trying the efficacy of electricity and galvanism in removing the Maharajah's complaint. The former agent had been recommended by Dr. H. who occupied the somewhat anomalous position of Physician and Captain at the court of Lahore. Doctor H. was an adventurer, and started from Loodianah with the intention of subduing all the countries across the Sutlej; he even hoisted the American flag at Loodianah, and collected a rabble to attack some villages across the Sutlej; his success, as might have been foreseen, was unequal to his wishes, and he found his way to Lahore, where he remained for some years, and eventually proceeded to Cabul. He is now we believe in his own country. His plan of galvanizing the Maharajah met with a ready consent on the part of the latter, but the exorbitant sum which the doctor demanded for constructing a galvanic battery (£5,000 sterling) naturally disgusted his royal patient, who threatened to wreak his vengeance on Doctor H. if he did not speedily leave his dominions. Dr. H., well knowing the character of the man he had to deal with, lost no time in making his escape to Loodianah! Acting on the hint, however, the Maharajah determined that the galvanism should be applied to his feeble frame, and the author of this work was accordingly sent to him to perform the

Further particulars regarding the Maharajah.

operation. We began by constructing a galvanic battery, and with an electrical apparatus, supplied from the Agra depôt, by order of the Governor of the North-western Provinces, the late Lord Metcalfe, we accompanied the political agent to Lahore in the end of 1836. After some delay, a day was appointed for electrifying the Maharajah. The machine was set up and the jar charged, but a difficulty arose on the part of his Highness's attendants, who were afraid that the shock might be attended by fatal consequences. At length the Maharajah begged of them to be quiet, and said he would take the *Biglee* (electricity.) We purposely put a small charge in the Leyden phial, and the Maharajah received it without evincing any particular emotion. On witnessing the slight effect on their master, all the courtiers entreated that we would give them a shock; and this time we resolved to give them its full effect! The Minister Dhyan Singh joined hands with Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, and he with others, until a chain was formed of the whole party present in the durbar. The jar being now charged to the full extent, they received a powerful shock, which made them all jump. Not making allowance for the difference in the charge, the Maharajah naturally received the credit of possessing a stouter heart and stronger nerves than any of his suite; and this first trial was satisfactory to all parties. Khooshyal Singh suggested, that we should teach some one the art of electrifying the Maharajah; but to this proposal

we decidedly objected, though willing to continue our own services as long as they might be required.*

Galvanism was next tried, but this the Maharajah did not approve of, and requested the electrical shocks to be repeated at intervals, which was accordingly done, and might eventually have been of use, but the visit of Sir Henry Fane, on the occasion of the marriage of Nonehal Singh, interrupted the course of experiments. We endeavoured, during the course of operations, to explain the wonderful rapidity of electricity, and in what way the Maharajah might communicate through it, in an instant of time, with the most distant parts of the kingdom, but Runjeet Singh, though curious on the subject, was rather sceptical on the latter point.

To the use of medicine generally the Maharajah expressed a marked dislike, and hardly ever took any, unless it was administered by his favourite physician, Azeezoodeen. He now conceived that our remedies were too powerful for himself and his people; indeed, on one occasion, where we were requested to prescribe for one of his soldiers, he recommended the men to take only half the dose we thought necessary to recommend. He looked upon English surgeons as skilful in operations, and in one case where all the hakeems (native physi-

* The Maharajah was much amused at our charging the jar out of him, and discharging it through the Prime Minister.

cians) of Lahore had endeavoured in vain to relieve a man, a messenger arrived for us, and the patient was saved from death by a single operation, of which however they had no knowledge. On relating this circumstance to the Maharajah, he remarked "Those English doctors would, I believe, bring people back from their graves!" no small compliment, certainly, to the profession.

The Maharajah said he had heard that claret was much used among the English officers, and requested that we would give him a bottle for trial. He tasted the wine, hut did not at all approve of it, adding that it was little better than water, and wondering at our bad taste in using such insipid stuff.

The fiery spirit made use of by the Sikhs is stronger than our brandy, and approaches nearer to whiskey; yet they indulge in it undiluted to a great extent; and most of the sirdars are under its influence, or that of opium, for eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. Their early use of both the spirit and the drug renders them indispensable through life; if deprived of their usual dose, the Sikh is one of the most wretched beings imaginable, resembling a man on the point of *delirium tremens.* Before engaging in any feat, the Sikh takes his opium, by which he is for a time excited, but this is soon followed by langour and inactivity. There is no doubt that Runjeet's early indulgence in dissipation brought on the ailment of which he ultimately died, and though he was latterly restricted

to a small portion of the fiery liquor, he still used the opium, so that little could be expected from remedial means. On our first visit to him, we were conducted by some of his soldiers through the Rambagh at Umritsir, but on returning, the sentry would not allow us to pass by the same route, and we had to make a long circuit in order to reach General Ventura's house. Notice of this uncivil conduct was given to the Maharajah, who begged of us to inform him what punishment we deemed necessary, and whether the man's ears or nose should be cut off. We objected to either, and requested that the Maharajah would think no more of the matter. However, the following incident will show that he did not entirely forget the circumstance. A Native doctor accompanied us to Umritsir, and knowing that he had only to demand anything in our name to obtain it, made frequent applications to the court. At length Dhyan Singh became astonished at the applications, and wrote a note to us on the subject. Ghoolam Mohummud was thus discovered, and we threatened to punish him in a signal manner, but the Maharajah craved his forgiveness, and as an inducement for us to grant his request, brought to our recollection, that he had at our instance spared a man's ears or nose.

From the frequent opportunities we enjoyed of conversing with the Maharajah, he acquired friendly feelings towards us, and on our taking leave of him for a few days, previous to the marriage of his grandson, he insisted on *our* conducting the Comman-

der-in-chief to his court! It was in vain that we pleaded our humble situation of Assistant-surgeon in the Honourable Company's Service, urging that such an honour must devolve on the political agent of the north-west frontiers! He said this might be all very true, but that we were his (the Maharajah's) friend and medical adviser, and that he would prefer our undertaking the task. In short, he would admit of no explanation or refusal, and his treasurer was ordered to disburse the necessary funds for providing a marriage dress! The affair was ridiculous enough, though the Maharajah was perfectly in earnest, and we were obliged to promise that we would return with the Commander-in-chief or the Jungee* Lord, either as an attendant upon or in charge of that high functionary.

It may not be here out of place, to give an example of the momentous effects sometimes springing from humble causes. In his negociations with Captain Wade, the political agent, the Maharajah became annoyed at some delay, and determined to get rid of the political agent, not by sending him away from Lahore, but by taking his own departure and leaving the agent to his solitary cogitations. One evening, the Fukeer Azeezoodeen called upon us with the Maharajah's compliments, saying, it was the wish of the latter, that we should accompany him on the morrow, and that a tent would be pitched for our reception. Knowing nothing of

* Literally, the "Battle Lord."

the cause which induced the Maharajah to leave Lahore, we of course promised to attend to his wishes. Soon after the fukeer had taken his departure, however, we were informed of the true nature of the case. This was awkward for the political agent, and appeared likely to be followed by serious consequences, for the Sikh troops were then on the eve of attacking Shikarpore, with a view to the conquest of Scinde. What was to be done? We suggested that the political agent should accompany us in the morning to the camp of the Maharajah, when an opportunity might occur for renewing the negociations. Accordingly, early next morning we left Lahore, and reached the camp, where an elegant tent was prepared for our reception. Runjeet soon learned tidings of Captain Wade's arrival, and saw plainly that he had been out-manœuvred. The issue was, that the negociations were renewed, and the annexation of Scinde prevented. This little incident is merely recorded as an instance of a victory in the political department over the "Lion of the Punjab," effected through the accidental instrumentality of an humble individual.

From our incidental mention of the wish of the Maharajah to deprive the sentry of his ears or nose as a punishment for insolence, it may be thought that Runjeet's disposition was cruel. So far from this being the case, he was an exception to oriental monarchs in this respect, and never wantonly inflicted either capital punishment or

mutilation. His determined character often prompted him to take such decisive measures as the urgency of the case demanded, but imprisonment, with confiscation of property, was the usual means he employed when he wished to bring any of his refractory subjects to a proper sense of their duty, as well as obtain any other object he had in view. We see that he had set his heart on possessing the *koh-i-noor*, and there is every reason for believing, that the Wufu Begum had promised the diamond as a reward for the release of her unfortunate husband when a prisoner in Cashmere; but on reaching Lahore, both she and her husband repented of their promise, and refused to fulfil it. This conduct on the part of the ex-king of Cabul, was of a character sufficient to annoy Runjeet Singh, and though Shah Soojah was completely in his power, yet the only means he employed for procuring the diamond, consisted in the mild imprisonment of the Shah. The ex-king was not thrown into a dark, dismal dungeon under ground, but merely watched in the chamber appropriated to his use; and the surveillance could not have been very strict, since his liberator was unsuspectedly enabled to form a communication between himself and the captive king, by knocking down a portion of the wall that intervened between them. The truth appears to be, that the Maharajah was not over anxious to retain his prisoner after obtaining the object of his wishes, though, had he immediately released the ex-king, the intention of

the imprisonment would at once have been disclosed. The unfortunate Sooltan Khan, of Bhember, was also one of those men who had very much annoyed the Maharajah by his independent or rebellious conduct, and though his general had induced the unfortunate man to accompany him to Lahore under false pretences and promises, the Maharajah inflicted no further punishment upon him than imprisonment of a tolerably long duration. Not willing that he should die under his hands, Sooltan Khan was handed over to Goolab Singh of Jummoo, a man on whose vigilance the Maharajah could place implicit reliance.

Runjeet has been accused of ill-treating Sooltan Khan in this matter, but holding the post the latter did, his rebellious conduct was likely to have been fatal to the Maharajah's retention of the province of Cashmere, the acquisition of which had cost him so much labour, and so heavy a sacrifice of troops. No other effectual means of preventing further rebellion on the part of Sooltan Khan occurred to Runjeet, than making him a prisoner for life.

Runjeet Singh, though he had become the possessor of the Punjab in a rather unscrupulous manner, was averse to any disturbance by which even private individuals might be deprived of their property; and to thieves of all descriptions he had a particular aversion. In the palace at Lahore, there was an open verandah, where he was sometimes accustomed to amuse himself with the bow and arrow, directing the latter against one of these

criminals, but the arrow was purposely blunted,* and seldom did much injury to the individual exposed to it. It was only, however, when sickness prevented the Maharajah from taking exercise, that he thus adopted the odd whim of using the bow and arrow.

It is not often that a cruel spirit is witnessed in a man who could amuse his leisure hours in feeding tame pigeons and domestic fowls with his own hand, and whose kindness to children was so marked. Even in cases of murder, the Maharajah sometimes evinced a degree of leniency (which according to our ideas of justice may be termed misplaced) provided the criminal had, either himself done good service to the state, or was related to those who had done so. Ram Singh, the eldest son of Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, as already mentioned, had killed Bishen Singh, son of Cheth Singh, commandant, and his victim being a universal favorite, the murderous act was execrated by all, and vengeance called for, but the Jemadar was a man in great power, and the Maharajah forgave the crime committed by his son, much to the surprise of every one.

There were many natives of Hindostan in the service of the Maharajah, and among others, deserters from the British. It so happened that a trooper of the 3rd light cavalry killed his soobadar at Thannessir while on escort duty. The man made his escape across the Sutlej, and was traced to

* Named a *Toda* by the Natives.

Lahore, where it was reported he had taken service with the Maharajah. Two men were accordingly selected from the regiment for the purpose of proceeding to the Punjab and discovering the murderer, who was well known to both. They were disguised in plain clothes, and on reaching Lahore, had the Maharajah's permission to take every opportunity of examining his troops, in order to discover the murderer. One of the men was a Mussulman, and the other a Hindoo. The former was diligent in his search and enquiries, but the latter soon gave up both, was often at the Durbar, and received particular attentions from the Jemadar, Khooshyal Singh. One day the Mussulman observed the man he was in search of; he was a gunner in the Jemadar's service. On ascertaining this point, he gave notice to the Maharajah that he had found out the murderer. He was summoned to the Durbar, and requested to state the particulars of his discovery. The Maharajah immediately referred to Kooshyal Singh, ordering him to deliver up the murderer. The Jemadar asserted that no such individual was in his service, and dared the informer to point him out. The Mussulman remarked, that he might not then be able to do so, as means might have been taken to get rid of him, but he maintained that he had seen him among the Jemadar's artillerymen. Though every way inclined to show the utmost attention to the wishes of the British agent in discovering the murderer, the Maharajah saw readily, how difficult a task it

had now become. He however gave orders forthwith for all the artillerymen under Khooshyal Singh's command to be paraded, but the search was made in vain. Still, the honest Mussulman swore that he had seen the murderer, and to quiet the man, offers of money were made by the Jemadar, but these he spurned, while his companion in the search, who had fewer scruples, availed himself of the opportunity of adding to his stock of comforts. At length, seeing it was in vain to look for the murderer, the man prepared to leave Lahore and recross the Sutlej. The Mussulman was warned that he might expect no kindness at Khooshyal Singh's hands, and the chances were against his ever reaching Umritsir with his head on his shoulders! The brave fellow laughed at such threats, exclaiming, "Well! let him murder me, my masters have plenty of good soldiers to supply my place." These particulars we had from the man's own lips after his return to Loodianah, where he arrived in a few days after leaving Lahore, for he managed to reach Umritsir the first day, and thus got the start of any one who might have been placed in wait for him by the Jemadar. His companion took his own time, and arrived well-clothed and well-mounted through the kindness and liberality of the Jemadar. The Mussulman was, we believe, promoted for his conduct, which certainly merited reward, and formed a striking contrast to that of the worthless Hindoo.

The Mussulman assured us that the Maharajah

appeared most anxious that the murderer should be discovered, but we knew the character of Runjeet Singh too well to suppose for an instant, that he did not heartily rejoice at the failure of the mission, not that he wished to screen a murderer, but he was anxious to prove to the British authorities that he never entertained men guilty of such crimes or deserters, if he knew them to be so. But if the Maharajah possessed any scruples on the subject, none such existed with his friend the Jemadar, who looked upon such offences as venial, and often blamed his master for his alliance with the British government of India. He looked upon Runjeet Singh as the greatest monarch in the world, and fancied that nothing could be easier than the invasion of the British territories by the "Lion of the Punjab." Dhyan Singh had no particular liking for the British, but he knew their power and feared it.

At the court of Lahore, we have seen in how friendly a manner the natives of other countries of Europe were received and entertained by the Maharajah, and yet only one native of Britain ever entered his service as an officer. Generals Ventura, Alard, and Court were great favourites not only with the Maharajah, but with Dhyan Singh, Soochet Singh, and other influential men about the court of Lahore. The truth is, that the Sikh sirdars disliked the reserved and stiff manners of the British officers, contrasting it unfavourably with that of the Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, and others, who resorted to the Punjab. To the Maha-

rajah himself, the utmost politeness was always shown by his British visitors, and he saw nothing to find fault with in their conduct to him; but not so his prime minister and great sirdars. They expected civility at least, and when disappointed in this, they naturally formed a dislike to the parties concerned. The late Dhyan Singh has often remarked to ourselves, that he was disposed to like the British, but he could not comprehend them, and was annoyed at their not treating him with the respect which every gentleman expects from another—adding "I am as good as they, a Rajpoot and a soldier." Though apologizing for our countrymen, we fear the reasons assigned by the rajah have too much foundation in truth. The ignorance of the language of the Punjabees often exposed the officers of the Queen's service, who went to Lahore, to the imputation of intentional rudeness. At a dinner party given by the political agent to the late Sir Henry Fane and his staff at Lahore in 1837, weh appened to be sitting next to Soochet Singh, who was invited as a spectator. He was much delighted at the sight of the guests, and seeing them addressing each other, he thought it due politeness for himself to speak to some of the general staff, expecting a civil answer at the least. But to the rajah's amazement, his question, though put in good Oordoo, only elicited a stare! He made several ineffectual efforts to enter into friendly conversation, when his temper at length became ruffled, and he appealed to us if his language were

not intelligible Hindostanee? We assented. "How then is it," he indignantly enquired, "that General L. Colonel D. and others do not reply to me?" We pleaded their ignorance of the language; but the rajah shook his head and insisted that it was pride on their part, and that they appeared to despise him. The sirdars are in general polite men, and their manner such as to make a favourable impression on strangers. Their language, when addressing you in the Punjabee is soft and pleasing. No gutturals, and few dentals find a place in the delivery, in short, it may be called the Doric of the east. Still it may be difficult of attainment to British officers, from the want of opportunity, heretofore, of hearing it spoken. Our intercourse with the Punjab of late, will remove this obstacle, and the Punjabee will no doubt become a favourite study. Runjeet Singh spoke it fluently, though he knew Oordoo tolerably well, but preferred conversing in the former.

His attention to the poor.

The difficulty experienced by the poor and needy in presenting their petitions to kings, is well-known in Europe, and exists in a still more marked degree in the East, not only among crowned heads, but their meanest attendants. In order to overcome this difficulty, and learn all the grievances of his people, the Maharajah had a place at the palace accessible to all, where their petitions were lodged, and received into a box, the key of which was kept in his own possession. By this means, he acquired information that could never otherwise have

reached his ears, and he thus held a great power in his hands, by which he was enabled to distribute justice to all; and he never failed to investigate all matters brought to his notice in this ingenious manner. A similar plan might be recommended to the rulers of the land in our country, and also to judges and magistrates in India, who seldom obtain any clue to the grievances of the poor, except through their amlah, who must be bribed, Runjeet was particularly struck with the justice of British functionaries on his frontier, in settling boundaries, and the task was really not an easy one, when the district of Feerozpore lapsed to us. To a man less acquainted with the subject than Lieutenant Mackeson, the boundary question between Feerozpore and the Sikh States on the left bank of the Sutlej, might have become the source of endless quarrels. The Maharajah knew and owned the difficulties, and could not but admire the patience and perseverance exhibited by the British officers employed on this knotty point, and never failed to express his satisfaction at their proceedings.

One thing occasioned his astonishment, and that was the expense incurred by British troops in marching through the country, where instead of helping themselves to anything they required in the shape of supplies, they paid for all they received. He owned that he could not afford to be thus liberal, and the people had become so accustomed to his exactions, that they would be dis-

appointed if he were to adopt the plan pursued by the "*Ungrez bahadur.*" He was anxious to imitate us in warfare and discipline, but there were some old deep-rooted practices which he could not forego, and though liberal and lavish to some, he was in his old age extremely avaricious, and fond of money. We have alluded to the Maharajah's love for horses. It will surprise our readers to be told, that he had no Arab horses in his stud. The excuse he made for this, was the high prices demanded for the animals, which he said he could not afford. His favourites were a white breed, chiefly found at Dhunee and other places in the Punjab. He had several Persian horses and Toorkees in his possession, the latter being strong serviceable animals, for which he often paid high prices. The Maharajah was an excellent horseman, and continued to take exercise on horseback to the latest period of his life, even when obliged to be lifted on the animal's back. He was amused once at seeing a British officer mounted on a camel, and did not appear to envy his rough seat, though he employed the animal in his army mounted with swivels, and also for his sowars when bearing messages. He possessed great numbers of elephants, and their howdahs and trappings were splendidly adorned with gold and silver.

It has been supposed that Runjeet imported cannon from England and France, but this seems very doubtful, since, under the superintendance of Monsieur Court, he manufactured guns of a serviceable kind, as fully proved in after years.

We have now given an outline of the great founder of the Sikh monarchy; his warlike career is well-known to English readers, through *Prinsep's Life of Runjeet Singh,* compiled from records obtained by the late Captain Murray, and the present Sir C. M. Wade. We have not copied either. Our first source of information was a history of the Maharajah kept by a Mussulman family in the Punjab, natives of Wittala, and carefully translated by ourselves from the work rendered into Oordoo by our worthy friend Abdoolashah. We at first intended to leave out the military career of the Maharajah, but wishing to form a continuous history, we trust our readers will excuse us, if they do not find anything new in this portion of our work. Our only regret is, that we had not the good fortune of knowing the Maharajah at an earlier period of his career; but we trust the opportunities enjoyed by us were not altogether thrown away. We have endeavoured to give the character of the Maharajah in its true light, as well as his views regarding his allies, the British. Among all the princes of the East, there were none who ever preserved their alliance with greater care than Runjeet Singh; and it will be seen in the sequel, that the British government in India was not unmindful of this when securing to his son the throne of Lahore.

END OF VOLUME I.

Brewster & West, Printers, Hand Court, Dowgate.

22 FEB 1962

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on 06 November, 2019